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Early American costume

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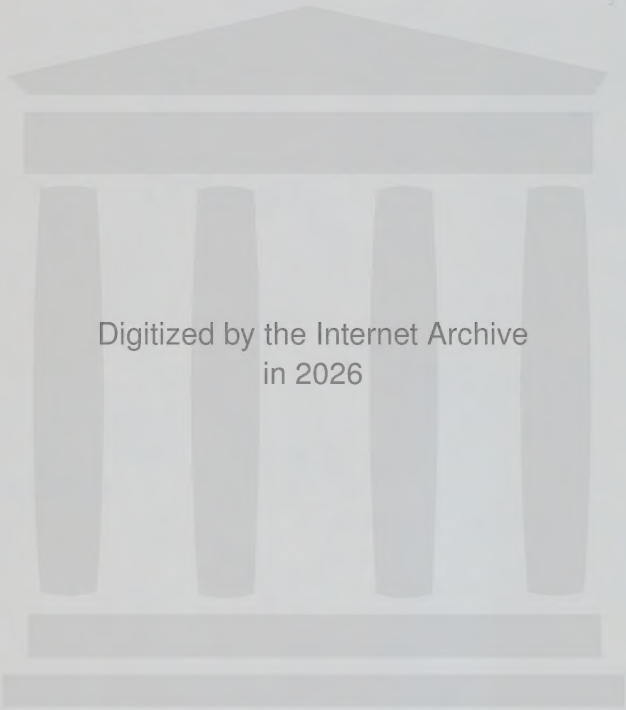
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Early American Costume

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EARLY AMERICAN GLASS
Rhea Mansfield Knittle

EARLY AMERICAN COSTUME
Edward Warwick and Henry C. Pitz

IN PREPARATION

EARLY AMERICAN SILVER
C. Louise Avery

EARLY AMERICAN PRINTS
Carl W. Drepperd

EARLY AMERICAN TEXTILES
Frances Little

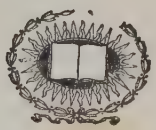
PLATE I *Courtesy, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University*

MRS. THOMAS BOYLSTON (Died 1774)
By John Singleton Copley

Early American Costume

By Edward Warwick
and Henry C. Pitz

With Illustrations by the Authors



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FOREWORD

PERHAPS there is no need for apology in presenting a book in a field so vast and so little tilled as that of American costume. There are two excellent works covering the field, both the result of much study and pioneer research. Yet, for the last quarter of a century the field has been practically bare of noteworthy contributions. During that time new material has come to light; earnest students of American history have placed a new interpretation upon the causes and effects of national growth; and in the study of European costume, scholars are tracing an increasingly minute and logical development of each garment from mode to mode. The authors believe the fresh materials and new viewpoints offered by these three developments justify a resurvey of the field.

The plan of the book is to present a careful and detailed description of the various articles of costume and their related accessories, noting the changes and phases through which each article passed. This account is supplemented by two types of illustrations: first, the full-page plates, reproductions from contemporary sources; second, smaller line-drawings distributed through the text, showing the shape, character, and method of wearing the various gar-

ments. Beginning each chapter, and preceding the detailed description of costume, an attempt is made to give a picture of the life that developed the particular type of costume under discussion, and of the background into which it is to be fitted. An effort has been made to present a study, not only of the actual physical shape, color, and dimensions of the costume, but of the relation of that costume to the life producing it, and of the people who wore it.

This has been done not only to round out the picture for the general reader but to give the artist, illustrator, costume designer, stage-manager, motion-picture producer, or pageant director an inkling of the way the costume is to be worn and used; and of the things with which it is to be surrounded. No claim of completeness, of course, is made for these historical backgrounds: they are intended to be suggestive and general in character. In Chapter IX, on SOURCES AND AUTHORITIES, there will be found a list of publications which may be consulted by those wishing information on special topics of Colonial history and life. Students familiar with the Colonial background may skip the historical introductions and turn at once to the descriptive portions of each chapter. Those who are without a grounding in early American history and its social conditions may approach the study of costume with more understanding by way of these historical backgrounds.

In several matters of costume interpretation, notably in the matter of the dress of the early Pilgrims, this book differs from others. The authors have reached

these conclusions only after a painstaking study of all available evidence.

The building of this book has been in a large measure the result of the interest and kindness of many friends, who have contributed criticisms, advice, or special knowledge; or who have permitted the examination or reproduction of objects in their collections. The authors wish to acknowledge in this inadequate way their thanks and appreciation to: Dr. Fiske Kimball, Dr. Arthur Bye, Thomas B. Clarke, Arthur F. Street, Richard C. Greenleaf, Mrs. Charles H. Russell, John C. Livingston, Henry W. Kent, Clarence S. Brigham, Walter H. Siple, Anna E. Smith, Ethel L. Schofield, Alexander J. Wall, Miriam A. Banks, Mrs. William B. Schofield, Benjamin H. Stone, Daniel Beard, Alexander Weddell, F. W. Bayley, Mrs. Lockwood, Ernest Spofford, and Dr. Samuel Woodhouse, Jr.

The authors would further register their acknowledgment to: Pennsylvania Museum of Art, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Essex Institute, New York Historical Society, American Antiquarian Society, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Bowdoin Museum of Fine Arts, Pilgrim Hall, New Haven Historical Society, Rhode Island School of Design, Wadsworth Athenæum and Morgan Memorial, Worcester Art Museum, Fogg Museum, Yale University, Massachusetts Historical Society, and the Historical Society of Philadelphia.

The authors are indebted to Miss Mary McClellan for the photographs of Colonial costume collected by

her sister Elizabeth McClellan in her research work upon her book "Historic Dress in America."

A particular tribute is expressed to Miss Eugénie M. Fryer, whose criticism and help in the preparation of the manuscript are apparent throughout the book.

E. W.
H. C. P.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
June 1929

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Early American Costume

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CHAPTER I

THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND

The foundations of America are to be found in the Old World. From western Europe, and more specifically from England, came the stream of migration that peopled the new continent and determined the course of its future growth: English, Scotch, Welsh, and Irish; Dutch, Swedes, Germans, and French made homes for themselves in the new land, bringing with them their native customs and their culture. In the subsequent amalgamation and mutation of these varied racial customs lies the history of American civilization.

American exploration and upbuilding had its roots deep-set in European history. This movement of varied peoples across a strange ocean was a product of the Renaissance, that exuberant spirit flowering out of the welter and confusion of the Middle Ages. This awakening, or Renaissance, sprang into life in Italy, the most fertile spot in Europe for breaking with Gothic tradition. Italy was rich in treasures of classic art. She was dotted with trading cities in touch with the art and thought of the Orient, and in which lived

a large and prosperous merchant class who possessed the wealth and the leisure to patronize art, and to enjoy the refinements of living. Then, too, Gothic art had never taken firm root in a land in which the traditions of Rome and Byzantium still lingered. It was in Italy that the Renaissance was to reach its full perfection, its earliest decline.

It is impossible to assign a date to the birth of the Renaissance. It was a spirit that had long lain dormant in the world, and its beginnings are obscure. We only know that somewhere between the early years of the fourteenth century and the middle of the sixteenth century a force of such power and magnitude was at work as to refashion the entire life and art of Italy and to launch the era of modern civilization.

The force of this new spirit flowed in a thousand channels. It transformed art, science, religion, government, the social order—every field, in short, of human endeavor. It filled men with an inexhaustible fund of energy. It impelled them to delve into the storehouses of classic art and learning, to venture into unknown fields of thought and practice. Within the space of a little more than two centuries it produced a company of geniuses unequaled in any age, save, perhaps, the Golden Age of Greece.

Italy became the fountainhead of art and fashion for western Europe. Great palaces and churches built in the new style arose in her cities. Her nobles and merchant princes surrounded themselves with the glitter and luxury that the new art produced. The wealth and talent of the land were squandered in creating a

PLATE II

POCAHONTAS AND HER BROTHERS

magnificent background for one of the most brilliant, beautiful, and dissolute societies ever known.

Into this sumptuous setting rode Charles VIII of France at the head of his invading army. Accustomed to the colorless life of the French court, he was dazzled and captivated by the splendor of the Italian cities. When, after an almost bloodless conquest, he returned to France, Charles and his courtiers brought back with them paintings, tapestries, gold and silver work, brocades, and other rare objects of the new art, and on their lips tales of Italian magnificence. Charles' successors, Louis XII and Francis I, following the same paths of conquest into Italy, were in their turn carried away by its wonder. So, in its journey to the New World, the Renaissance came to France, laying upon French art and life its transforming touch.

The French monarchs brought back the physical evidences of the Renaissance, but its growing freedom of thought, its joy in the rediscovery of man's potential powers, spread in more subtle and hidden ways. All over Europe a long-smoldering curiosity burst into flame. Men became possessed of an insatiable hunger for life and knowledge. The world without and within was subjected to an intense scrutiny and revaluation.

Modern science was dawning. Copernicus and his followers were plotting the system of the heavens; were demonstrating to an astonished world that man's earth was not the core of the universe, but a subordinate part in a great scheme of things. In different ways Bacon, Harvey, Kepler, Bruno, and Leibnitz were deciphering the secrets of nature and finding in her a

certain order and design. Inventions were playing their part in the upheaval: printing, which made knowledge accessible to all; gunpowder, which destroyed the power of the mounted knight; the compass, which gave navigators confidence to venture uncharted seas. Travelers were bringing back tales of remote lands. The possibilities of new trade contacts with the East were exciting even the calculating minds of the merchant princes. Both mental and physical horizons were widening.

The half-forgotten knowledge of former ages came crowding back. The belief that the earth was round was known to Aristotle and other ancient writers; but it had been suppressed during the Middle Ages. With the revival of learning, this belief again took hold of the minds of learned men, appearing in scientific writings. It was a study of these writings that gave Columbus courage to sail westward until he had reached the shores of North America.

Suddenly Europe found the world grown vastly larger. Limitless treasure and strange overseas kingdoms seemed to be hers for the taking. Soon her square-sailed ships were plowing the secret seas of the new hemisphere. It fell to the lot of Spain and Portugal to seize the greater portion of the New World. When the more northern nations had summoned sufficient interest and strength to enter the new arena, they found South and Central America, Mexico, the West Indies, and large portions of the Orient under the banners of these two countries. Only North America lay open. Spain had found rich but feeble civilizations awaiting

her plundering soldiers, and the first explorers of the northern continent hoped to find equal opportunity for spoil and conquest. They were slow to credit the stark and prosaic facts of the new land. Their fancy pictured it with all possible delights and marvels—fabulous cities roofed with gold, mountains of precious stones, miraculous fountains that restored youth to aged frames.

The extravagant fancies that possessed the minds of the early explorers had their counterparts in all ranks and orders of European society. It was an age of credulity. It is not difficult to understand how, in the first flush and wonder of finding their minds liberated, men found it impossible to set bounds to their imaginations. They were too restless for cool analysis. They were stirred to vehement effort, to an almost frenzied lust for fuller life and more complete knowledge. This desperate release of energy penetrated every field of human endeavor. Before this ardor cooled, it had changed the complexion of Europe and had planted a young civilization in the Western Hemisphere.

North of the Alps the new spirit awakened questions of religious authority. The invention of printing had brought the Bible to the masses, and its interpretation became a matter for even the common people. Growing religious doubts found ready sympathy among the nobles and princes who were weary and jealous of the power of the church. They were ripe for revolt, for political and material reasons, if for no other. Supported by the desire of the lower ranks for a church free from abuses and corruption, and for a faith more

nearly approaching the primitive teachings of Jesus, they cast off the authority of Rome. It was a revolt that involved Europe in years of bloodshed. In the end neither Rome nor the new Protestant faith was wholly triumphant. England, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Bohemia, and most of Germany established national churches under the control of their princes, and Europe stood half Protestant, half Catholic.

The Reformation, however, did not stop here. Despite the fact that princes and nobles were now content with the new churches under their authority, great numbers of the common people sought further reforms, further purification of religious practice. Many insisted upon their own interpretation of the Bible as an inspired guide. This gave rise to many diverse sects that had little in common save their resistance to any religious authority. They in their turn became harassed and persecuted by the authority from which they had revolted, and they looked toward the new lands across the sea, which offered them freedom and release from persecution at home. From their ranks came thousands of the early settlers of the North American colonies.

The tide of religious independence kept pace with political and scientific progress, and as the Renaissance advanced, the defenses of the feudal system slowly crumbled under the attacks of the new order. Six strong states emerged—England, Spain, France, Portugal, Holland, and Sweden. All of these were powerful enough to enter the struggle for new territory. Five of them contributed something toward the upbuilding

A

B

Contemporary Engravings of Time of Captain John Smith

PLATE III

of the American colonies. Spain, France, Holland, and Sweden planted settlements within the limits of what is to-day the United States. Some of these settlements have vanished utterly, leaving no trace; others have left their mark upon the history of the nation; but the colonizer that absorbed the efforts of these four and molded the character and future of the country was England.

It was England, alone among the nations of Europe, that possessed all the elements necessary for the giant task of colonizing a distant continent. Due to the fortunes of war and to the triumphs of diplomacy, she stood, in the early years of the seventeenth century, the equal if not the superior of any European state in human and material resources, in vigor, courage, and initiative. Her isolated position had saved her from the ruin and suffering of invasion. Her possible rivals had been weakened or crippled, while year by year she had been gaining strength. In the transition from a medieval to a modern world, England was almost two centuries in advance of the Continent.

Spain's greatness was passing. She was showing evidence of internal decay, and the destruction of the Armada had robbed her of her sea power. Portugal, after a brief period of vigor under Henry the Navigator, had lapsed into apathy. Sweden was able only to make half-hearted attempts at colonization, her great king Gustavus Adolphus having wasted her wealth and her manhood on the battle-fields of central Europe. Holland, though enterprising and possessed of a strong navy, was small, having only a

limited population to draw upon. Moreover, the ambitious French under Richelieu and Louis XIV pressed close upon her frontiers. France alone was a serious menace to England's colonial ambitions; but she suffered from the foolish policies of her monarchs. These monarchs had spent her strength in futile wars and empty conquests on the Continent, and had driven beyond her borders the bulk of her artisan population, the Huguenots. Then, too, her medieval social structure was scarcely adequate to the stern work of supplying a capable and self-reliant population for the holding of her American claims. A little over a century after her early settlements were founded, England was to remove this last obstacle to her expansion in the New World.

One tremendously important source of England's colonial success was an abundance of human material fitted to grapple with the hazards and hardships of a virgin land. She possessed a supply of agricultural laborers, freed from the soil and all feudal obligations, and accustomed to a life of toil and rude living. In the process of winning their freedom, they had developed qualities of independence, determination, and industry, all essential to the life of the colonist. Finally, the rise of the English woolen industry had changed large areas of cultivated land into pasturage for sheep-raising. The farm laborers thus dispossessed were ripe for any adventure that promised wage and opportunity.

A step higher in the social scale were the yeomanry and small farmers, all landowners in a modest way. They understood the business of raising crops, the care

of animals, and the management of laborers. A practical-minded class, they were self-sufficient, competent, and not without education. Great numbers of them, for religious or political reasons or because of the lure of vast acreage, migrated to the colonies.

Finally, there were the landed gentry, owners of large estates, men of substance and standing. They too understood the soil, were accustomed to the supervision of labor, the handling of accounts, and the administration of local justice. They came to America in smaller numbers, but they furnished many leaders of colonial thought and action.

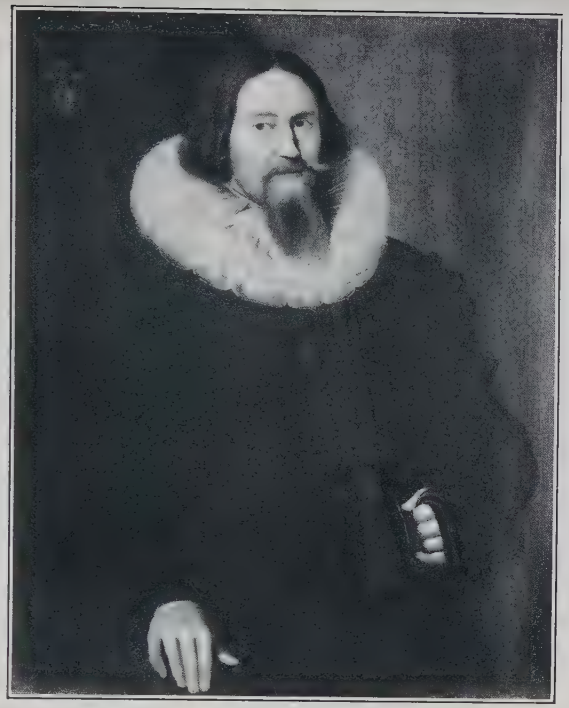
The position of the Englishwoman was of equal importance. She had kept pace with English social and political development; and in the seventeenth century she had reached a degree of independence and competence unknown elsewhere in Europe. She was acquainted not only with the household arts and with the hard labor of the fields but had entered the larger spheres of trade and of the industrial arts. According to her station, she knew something of the handling of people and property, possessing likewise no small influence in religious and political matters. Fortunately, the leaders of colonial policy recognized very early the important rôle family life plays in permanent colonization, and they did everything possible to encourage the migration of women and of whole families.

English sea power played no inconsiderable part in England's colonial success. An island people, she had of necessity taken early to the sea; but she was only beginning to perceive that the way of empire lay

in a command of the broad oceans of the world. Queen Elizabeth had wisely put her trust in men and ships, and her hastily assembled navy had shattered the Armada, giving England an appetite for dominance in the arena of the newly discovered world. The popular mind had been fired by the tales of Hawkins, Drake, and Raleigh, and great numbers of the high-hearted youth of England found their way down to the sea.

Coincident with her growth in sea power, and largely responsible for it, was England's expansion in trade, followed by the consequent rise of a large and influential merchant class. It was the dawn of a middle-class age, and England was rapidly becoming the nation of shopkeepers Napoleon afterward dubbed her. Successful trade and commerce demanded stability of government and freedom from oppression. Thus the great power and wealth of the new classes were brought to bear to secure these ends. It was a test of strength between the old order and the new; nor was the issue decided at a blow. In a struggle lasting many decades, clergy, aristocracy, and royalty were gradually stripped of most of their political power; a step in the direction of democracy which influenced mightily the thought and action of the colonies.

The new merchant or business class became more and more interested in the affairs of state, gaining also more and more experience in the handling of large commercial ventures. They learned the value of collective action, and they acquired the capital, the machinery, and the organization necessary for transporting and maintaining distant outposts. Their great trad-



Courtesy, the Bowdoin College Art Collections A

PORTRAIT OF A BOWDOIN ANCESTOR

Painted 1647

B *Courtesy of Pilgrim Hall*

GOVERNOR JOHN WINTHROP (1587–1649)

PLATE IV

ing companies, like the East India and the Muscovy, kept in constant communication with the Far East and with the interior of Russia. Now, with a new continent open for exploitation, a group of new companies was formed to link it with the mother-country.

At the dawn of the seventeenth century, England stood fully equipped for the work of transplanting her civilization to an alien shore. From her social and political background came the elements that were to become the foundations of the new structure. Her law and system of justice, her manners and social customs, her domestic life, and her intellectual interests all made the journey across the sea. Her religious differences, her political upheavals, and her economic changes also found their way across three thousand miles of water. It was an England still quickened by the Renaissance, but adapting and interpreting it in her own fashion, that looked westward across the Atlantic. Renaissance thought and art were to become the heritage of America; but it was, in the main, thought and art that had passed through English minds and bore the English stamp.

For a century and a half England was the model of the colonies. They copied her art, her manners, and her fashions as best they could. If, in the process, they evolved something different and individual, it was due rather to distance and the pressure of a ruder environment than to a deliberate expression of originality.

CHAPTER II

VIRGINIA: LIFE IN THE EARLY SETTLEMENTS

1607–1675

A LITTLE company of one hundred and five men sailed from the restless England of James I to plant the first of the permanent English colonies in America. In the bright spring weather of 1607 their three ships entered the Chesapeake, finally coming to anchor in the broad flood of a river they called the James. On its banks they built a few rude shelters, naming the settlement Jamestown.

They were an oddly assorted company, ill-fitted for the desperate business of maintaining themselves, and for wresting a living from this new and dangerous country. More than half of them were gentlemen, real or self-styled, who had embarked upon this adventure stirred by rumors of fabulous riches easily attainable in the New World. They had not reckoned with the hard manual labor attendant upon the founding of a colony. Some were tradesmen, some servants; and among their number were listed even "jewellers, gold refiners and a perfumer." Twelve laborers, a few carpenters, a blacksmith, a mason, a barber, a tailor, were also of this band of adventurers, these last being

probably the most valuable of all the ships' company for the difficulties at hand. The few leaders of proved courage and capability were Wingfield, the first president; the mariners Gosnold and Newport; and, most notable of all, Captain John Smith.

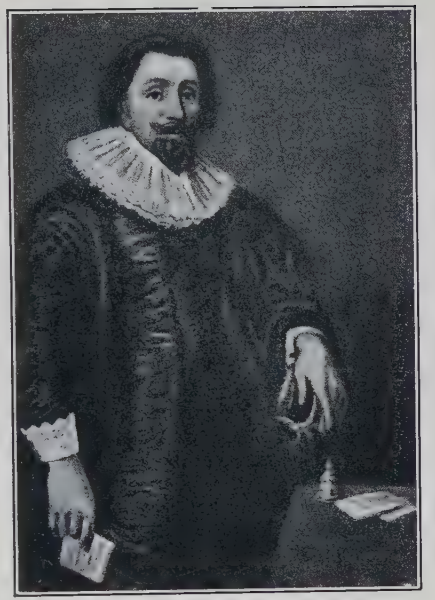
The old engravings (Plates I and II) and the drawings (Figs. 1 and 6) give a good idea of how these gentlemen adventurers appeared when they first set foot on Virginian soil, their dress that of the current English mode, in which the influence of the Spanish bombast style was waning. (See page 33 *et seq.*)

The doublet, made of stiffened materials, tapered to the waist, and was worn over a white linen shirt. Close-fitting sleeves were sometimes attached at the shoulder, and covered by a wing or roll fastened to the doublet. Lace cuffs adorned the wrists, and pleated ruffs (or, even more commonly, wide upstanding collars) the neck. The padded trunk hose were of varying lengths and were worn sometimes with the tailored stockings attached, sometimes in conjunction with canions reaching to the knees. Boots were characteristic footgear of the period, and must have been particularly appropriate for the marshes and the tangled underbrush of the Virginian coast. Another article of attire suited to the rough life was the buff jerkin, made of leather, and worn over the doublet. Sometimes it was of sufficient thickness to turn an arrow. The wide-brimmed hats of felt and beaver were excellent protection against the hot southern sun; though the close-fitting Monmouth cap was probably more suited to the narrow forestways. Add a cloak for cold or inclement weather, short hair,

and a pointed beard and mustache, and one has a fairly complete picture of the Jamestown settler.

Living as they did under constant dread of Indian assault, there were certain accessories that must have formed an indispensable part of their costume—weapons and armor. Pistols were often thrust into a broad sash or a leathern belt around the waist, while the long, straight, rapier-like sword was suspended at the left side from the older-fashioned sword-belt, or from a broad shoulder belt or decorated baldric. The half-armor of the time consisted mainly of the breastplate and backplate buckled together at the sides, and of a steel hat or morion.

The materials of the gentlemen's costume were usually rich and expensive—silks and satins, elaborately patterned brocades and velvets, gold and silver braid, lace and fine linen. Their dress was as rich in color as it was lavish in material. Picture them, scarlet and gold and multi-colored against a setting of dark forest, flowered clearing, and sluggish tidal rivers. They must have seemed strange, exotic figures as they moved about in their Old World finery, under the blazing Virginia sun, among the log and reed-thatched huts of Jamestown, in the rude wooden church or storehouses, upon the dusty drill-ground, or by the stout log stockade that surrounded the entire settlement. Even in the heat of midsummer, when comfort demanded the doffing of doublet and jerkin, doubtless some in that motley company, jealous of their station and its proprieties, still clung to the stifling doublet to the limit of endurance.



A

B

GEORGE CALVERT (LORD BALTIMORE)

1579(?)–1632

PLATE V

During the next three years the little colony struggled painfully for life. Men bickered and fought among themselves. Fevered mists rose from the swamplands about the settlement, spreading pestilence in the torrid summer weather. Indians hovered in the shadow of the great trees, ready to pick off the unwary. The food supply became exhausted and famine came. Occasional ships from England brought men and supplies, keeping a spark of life in the stricken colony; but by the spring of 1610, out of a company of five hundred, less than sixty remained alive.

There are no pictorial and few written records of this terrible time, but it is certain that the original clothing brought from England by the settlers was badly worn and soiled; was patched and supplemented with fur and leather obtained from animals they had killed or had purchased from the Indians. These makeshift garments probably were made with little regard for cut or for fit. They were presumably the first crude beginnings of essentially American costume.

June of 1610 brought three heavily laden ships under Lord de la Warr, and the colony took on new life. The Virginia Company in England having learned from experience, the vessels it sent now carried settlers of the proper temper, "honest and industrious men, carpenters, smiths, coopers, fishermen, tanners, shoemakers, shipwrights, brickmen, gardeners, husbandmen and laboring men of all sorts." The colony grew more rapidly than heretofore and prospered. Cattle, horses, sheep, and live stock of all sorts were brought in, a variety of crops were planted, and the

banks of the James and even parts of the Eastern Shore became dotted with tiny settlements and lonely cabins. The new colonists turned to the resources at hand—lumber, sassafras root, bayberries, fish, skins and furs, tar, pitch, and turpentine being prepared for export.

For a time it seemed that Virginia might develop into a province of small holdings, diversified pursuits, and a democratic social structure. A new product of undreamed-of commercial importance, however, changed the entire course of the colony's growth. Tobacco, first planted in John Rolfe's garden in 1612, became, in a short time, the article upon which the economic fabric and prosperity of the colony was to depend. England and the Continent were already importing large quantities of the leaf in Dutch and Spanish bottoms from the Indies. It was fast becoming a necessity rather than a novel luxury. When it was discovered that the black forest mold of the Virginia clearings would yield surpassing crops of the weed, the entire energy of the colony turned to tobacco-raising. In five years it became the most important article of export.

Virginia became a tobacco province, its entire life revolving around the yellow leaf. Tobacco even displaced currency, and the success or failure of the crop affected alike the greatest and the least of her inhabitants. Slowly it shaped her society into well-defined classes, building up an economic foundation differing markedly from that of her northern sisters.

Tobacco-planters amassed wealth rapidly. They pushed farther up the shores of the bay and its tributary streams, clearing the forest and constantly adding

to their acreage. As they grew richer and more powerful, the gulf widened between themselves and their poorer neighbors. New fields demanded more laborers, and the planters cast about for available sources of supply. Highly colored descriptions of the country were published in England in an effort to stimulate immigration. White servants, or redemptioners, were brought over and bound to their employers for a term of years, until they had worked off the cost of their passage. These redemptioners were often ambitious and industrious men, who, after serving their term of indenture, were furnished with clothing, equipment, and a small parcel of land. Often they worked up into positions of security and influence. In the pressing need for more and more labor, however, less legitimate schemes of recruiting were resorted to. Men were kidnapped in the streets and lanes of the English seaports; convicts were shipped from the London jails; and many boatloads of the rebel followers of the Duke of Monmouth were sentenced to virtual slavery in the tobacco-fields.

The labor supply was still inadequate. When in 1619 a Dutch ship arrived bringing with it twenty black slaves, another element was added to strengthen the ascendancy of the planter class. The use of negro slaves spread gradually. They were cheaper and more docile than white laborers, and since no particular intelligence was required to cultivate and harvest a tobacco crop, blacks began to displace white men in the fields and even as household servants.

The same year that saw the arrival of the first negro slaves brought also a shipload of ninety women, all of

them prospective wives for the colonists. Each woman's passage, one hundred and twenty pounds of tobacco, was to be paid by the man whose wife she became. Until this time Virginia had been almost entirely a colony of men; although two women, Mistress Forest and her maid, Anne Burras, had landed in 1609. These ninety women were not, of course, ladies of quality. They were poor maidens and widows, "young, handsome and chaste." Their gowns were probably neither of the richest materials, nor of the finest cut; but, considering the nature of their quest, it is certain they lavished upon their persons as much as their means permitted, following as closely as possible the latest London mode.

They doubtless wore some form of the farthingale, a wide voluminous skirt, distended by means of hoops or a bolster; or a simpler kind of skirt, made very full, but not built out in any manner. Usually, in either type of skirt, the material was cut away in front, showing an underskirt of different material. The bodice was stiff and straight in outline and was laced in at the waist, where it descended to a point. Ruffs, bands, and collars were much like those of the men, as were also the various cloaks and the high-crowned hats. In fact, excepting the skirts, the other articles of feminine attire followed closely the masculine mode. (See page 47 *et seq.*)

At this same time, and continuing through the second quarter of the century, the costume of the men was undergoing a steady change and modification. The tendency in general was toward greater length and fullness of the principal garments. The doublet was gradu-

PLATE VI

By kind permission of Thomas Benedict Clarke and the Pennsylvania Museum

RICHARD BELLINGHAM (1592–1672)
By William Read. Painted 1641

ally losing its stiffness, and the tabs at the waist were lengthening. By the middle of the century the doublet had become loose-fitting and longer. Sleeves were getting wider, and were often puffed and slashed. The broad collar now fell upon the shoulders, and with the passing of the short trunk hose in the early twenties came a type of full knickerbockers gathered at the knee with ribbons. Long hair was again the fashion, the long curls and love-locks, together with the wide-brimmed sombrero hat, being two marked characteristics of the time of Charles I, this period being usually termed "Cavalier." (See page 53 *et seq.*)

It must be remembered the constantly changing English fashions were not always followed immediately in the colonies. Possibly the royal governor and his little retinue adopted the latest mode as quickly as the means of communication of the day permitted; but remote plantations would have been slow to hear of London doings. Then, too, many of the older men of the colony would resent the intrusion of new styles, and would cling jealously to the fashions of their youth. It would not have been unusual to find in any large gathering the mingled fashions of several generations.

Meanwhile, to the north, Maryland had been settled by a mixed band of Catholics and Protestants under Leonard Calvert in 1634. They built the little town of St. Mary's on a tributary of the Potomac, farms and plantations soon springing up around it. Tobacco became a principal crop; slaves came in, and social life developed very much akin to that of Virginia. The costume differed in no essential from that worn in

Virginia, save, perhaps, in the black habits of the Jesuits, who would not have been found in the older colony.

With the middle of the seventeenth century came the first of a flood of royalist fugitives from England. Charles I was beheaded in 1649, and his followers fled to the Continent and to the New World. They found a haven in Virginia, Governor Berkeley having sent an invitation to all Cavaliers to make his province their home. They came in large numbers until the Restoration in 1660, giving a markedly Cavalier caste to Virginian society. Many were "nobility, clergy and gentry, men of the first rate"; but the term Cavalier included people of all classes and kinds. It denoted political leanings rather than either station or lineage.

No matter what their rank, they must have come in their best ribbons and laces, flaunting their Cavalier dress as a badge of allegiance to their cause and to their departed king. The dress, of course, was not new to Virginia. In fact, it had gradually become the mode in upper circles. The arrival, however, of great numbers of elegant and beribboned men and women placed a definite complexion upon the Virginian dress and manners. Moreover, it was a type of dress that fitted into the light-hearted and rich-living plantation life that was fast becoming the tradition of the Old Dominion. Virginia now became not only the Tobacco Province but the Cavalier Colony.

The new-comers dressed in a doublet that hung loose and straight from the shoulders to a little below the waist. The bottoms were square-cut or tapered to the

front. An older type of doublet that was still worn sloped in from the shoulders to a high waist-line, often decorated with points or ties. Sleeves were wider and looser, and frequently were slashed or paned. Much display was made of the fine linen shirt, through the open or slashed sleeves, the unbuttoned doublet, and the rolled-back cuff. Knee-breeches were less full than in the previous quarter of the century, and sometimes sloped from the hips to the ribbon-garters just below the knees. The broad linen collars followed the line of the shoulders; the cuffs turned back at the wrists. Among the upper classes these collars and cuffs were of the richest and most expensive lace. They were carefully stiffened with the best Dutch starch. Although one finds mention of colored starches, red, blue, yellow, and "goose-green" starch, yet they must have been used either infrequently or have been of very delicate and scarcely perceptible tints. An examination of hundreds of old portraits discloses no evidence of any decided color in ruffs, collars, bands, or cuffs.

The Cavalier often wore boots of soft leather with wide mouths pulled above the knee, or turned down in a flapping collar below the knee. His stockings were of silk, his shoes square-toed and tied with ribbons, or adorned with rosettes. He was fond of capes and cloaks thrown back over the shoulders, and his wide-brimmed hat usually contained a feather. His locks were long and curled, and hung in careful disorder. He liked black velvet contrasted with pale blue, yellow, or cream-colored satins. The materials of his garments were of the finest—plush, silk, satin, fine linen, and

lace. He wore them with studied ease, being fond of little touches that would give him an air of careful negligence and negligent care. He was a figure of elegance and distinction, of nonchalance and sophistication.

The Cavalier's lady would also appear in looser and less formal dress; a skirt full and wide, and sometimes gathered back to disclose the satin petticoat; a bodice high-waisted and at times almost covered by the great falling collar of linen edged with lace. The sleeves were loose and ample, commonly ending part way down the forearm in a turned-back cuff, or by a falling wristlet of lace. Her hair fell in curls about her shoulders, often with a fringe of them across the forehead. Occasionally the hair was brushed back from the brow. No lady of fashion, in those days, considered herself ready for the languid compliments of polite society until she had carefully gummed at least one black silk patch of fetching shape on her face. Circles, stars, and crescent moons were common; while ladies of enterprise and of an original turn of mind would venture forth with silhouettes of full-rigged ships or of a coach-and-four spotting their cheeks and foreheads.

The dress of humbler folk, in a simpler and less extravagant way, copied that of the upper circles. The body garments were shorn of much or all of their ornament, and were made of cheaper and ruder materials—broadcloth, kersey, leather, and homespun. Leather breeches, jerkins, and stockings were in general use by those engaged in rough labor. These leather garments possessed remarkable wearing qualities, it being

not unusual to find such articles serving for two or even three generations. In the outlying districts where game was plentiful, the poorer families used leather almost entirely for outer garments.

In the years of comparative quiet that followed under the Commonwealth, the Roundhead government interfered to a surprisingly slight extent with Virginian affairs. In fact, the colony enjoyed virtual independence. Puritan ideals were not those of Virginia, and the sober costume of the Roundheads found small welcome there. Instead, Virginia kept her Cavalier ways and dress, so that, with the coming of the Restoration in 1660, one finds no counterpart of the feverish and hysterical reaction that upset the thought and fashion of England. Virginian costume had always been essentially Cavalier. The extravagances and extremes of the second Charles were a natural continuation of the dress of his father's reign. Ribbons and knots, frills and laces, multitudes of buttons and bows and ornaments, all the excesses and absurdities marking the dress of the English court found an echo in the governor's court at Jamestown and among the more modish planters. Yet its fripperies were too extreme for a colony in the making. Only in much simplified forms was it adopted by the people of lesser rank, notably in the lengthened doublet, beginning now to take on the form of a coat, and in the shrinking shoulder collar that was developing into two falling bands at the throat.

By the beginning of the last quarter of the century the wilderness south of Virginia was being penetrated and settled. In 1653 a band of Virginians established

the first permanent settlement in the Carolinas on the banks of the Chowan and the Roanoke. Later a handful of New Englanders built some huts on Cape Fear. The country filled up slowly, largely with outcast or restless spirits from Virginia. Virginian life was reproduced on a much ruder scale. The settlements were isolated, life was rough and hazardous, and the citizenry hardy and independent. Their dress was simple and practical, consisting for the most part of leather and homespun, such as those described in a later chapter on frontier costume. Of all the colonies, North Carolina was the least responsive to European influence. It was frontier land until late in the next century.

Its twin province, South Carolina, was included in the same charter of 1663; but the first successful expedition did not land until 1670, when three shiploads of English arrived from Barbados. Charleston was founded in 1680. Later the center of a polished and delightful society, it was during the remaining years of the century still a new and raw settlement, struggling to lay the foundations of its future greatness. There was nothing particularly distinctive or individual in the costume or life of the province in these early years. That came later when Charleston had grown into a city of fashion and culture.

By 1675 Virginia's fertile tide-water country was well covered with plantations. The Indian and much of the wild life had disappeared from the river bottoms, and in the foothills a thin fringe of cabins and blockhouses stood between the savage and the tobacco-raising territory of the coast. The social order

was gradually forming into four fairly defined classes. First came the planters and high government officials; second, the middle class of tradesmen, artisans, and owners of small holdings; third, the white bound-servants or redemptioners; lastly, at the bottom of the scale, the negro slaves.

The planters were growing into a strong and controlling aristocracy, ruling their miniature states in something approximating the old feudal manner. They built their houses as large and pretentious as their wealth and conditions permitted. Wood was the most common material used; but some houses were constructed of bricks made on the estate or near-by. Not many of these seventeenth century manor-houses possessed the architectural interest and beauty of those built in the next century; but within, they revealed an almost medieval picturesqueness in contrast with the elegance and refinement of a few years after.

The furniture, brought from England in the tobacco ships, was rather massive and richly carved; court cupboards and long refectory tables of oak, lighter tables, and chairs of walnut. The chairs were high-backed and carved in the Flemish manner with cupids, crestings, and heavy scrollwork. There was spiral turning on the legs, and the seats were of rush or cane; although some of the newer and more unusual forms were upholstered in cut velvet or Russia leather. The walls of the great room, or dining hall, were often paneled in wood, and on them from pegs were suspended saddles and harness, guns, swords, powder-horns, and trophies of the chase, while above these sometimes hung

family portraits brought from home. Crockery cupboards and linen chests stood about; while on the holland or damask cloth of the great dining-table were silver or pewter tankards and plate of earthenware, small pieces of Bristol glass, knives, spoons, and, in a few instances, that implement new even to cultured circles, the fork. At meal-time it would not be unusual for the favorite hounds to lie beside the master's seat and be fed scraps from his plate.

Around the plantation house were clustered the servants' quarters and slave huts, tobacco barns, granaries, smoke-houses, stables, and cow-pens. An orchard would be near the house, as would a garden hedged in and filled with shade trees and bright English flowers. Beyond were the broad tobacco-fields, and the smaller ones for grain, hay, and vegetables.

These plantations were almost always on or near some navigable body of water. Once a year the tobacco ships nosed up to the planter's landing stage, and through the late spring and early summer months they lay moored, the center of bustling activity and interest. Gangs of negroes and white redemptioners unloaded bales of stuffs and chests of fine clothing from the London tailors and drapers, crates of furniture and barrels of canary, port, claret, and fine French wines, casks of sugar and hampers of crockery. The ships refitted and took on water and stores, and for cargo they emptied the bulging warehouses of their ripened tobacco leaf. From the inland plantations the tobacco was rolled down in great casks fitted with axles and drawn by yokes of oxen, by teams of horses, or even by gangs of

PLATE VII

THE PURITAN

By Augustus Saint-Gaudens

sweating slaves. It was the gayest and most colorful event in the Virginian year. People of all types and of many races thronged the wooden wharves and warehouses, or were entertained in the hospitable manor-house. English and New England mariners or dark-skinned sailors from the Mediterranean races mingled with the bare-bodied blacks, with the leather-breeched and canvas-doubleted craftsmen and small farmers, with occasional groups of curious Indians, elegant ladies and gentlemen from the great house, and buck-skin-clad hunters from the back country.

Lavish with the money received from the new crop, the planter held open house for all. Like his English cousin, the country squire, he rode hard, gambled, and drank with his friends. He and his lady danced and dined with their neighbors, dressed in the latest London fineries unloaded from the ship. He was eager to display the latest wrinkle of fashion as ordained by the select circles of London. He spared neither expense nor trouble to have himself and his household garbed in rare and unusual materials. In fact, he must often have overstepped the bounds of good taste in his anxiety to dazzle and astound; for many of these early planters were not fitted by birth or training to transplant the sophistication of London society into the primitive setting of the Virginia of 1675. Many of them had climbed to their present position from the ranks of the adventurer and redemptioner. Several generations would pass before their manners matched their station. The first families of Virginia were still in the making.

The planter of 1675, playing host to a houseful of

chattering guests, was a replica of a London figure of fashion of the previous year. He would be a more familiar figure to us than would his ancestor of early Jamestown; for his principal garment would be the coat, an article of attire fast displacing the doublet, a garment which has remained in some form down to the present time. It might be of dull red or green velvet, and would fall from the shoulders to mid-thigh, or even lower. It would be slit to the hips on either side and in the back. The sleeves would be turned back at the elbow in a broad cuff, showing the silk lining and exposing the full ruffled shirt-sleeve of linen. The unbuttoned coat would commonly show the short, straight-cut vest of silk or satin, figured, perhaps, or embroidered.

A planter would doubtless wear the latest thing in neckwear, the cravat or neckcloth—a spreading fall of fine lace tied at the throat with a bow of ribbon. His breeches, of the same material as the coat, would be of moderate width and gartered with ribbons at the knee. Ribbons were likely to appear on his garments in almost any place, for they were the mark of the age.

Boots were no longer the mode. It was now fashionable to wear light-hued silk stockings and square-toed shoes, fastened with long, bright-colored ribbons, or perhaps in the newer manner, with small silver buckles. Lastly, the planter would wear upon his head the latest encumbrance dictated by a tyrant fashion, a heavy periwig of long, thick curls, which fell over the shoulders. This early Virginian planter was an important figure, not only in his own eyes, but in ours; for he

represents an important turning point in the history of clothes. Behind him lies the fancy and color and peacock raiment of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Before him stretches a century of wig-wearing, and the centuries of gradually increasing sobriety in the costume of the male.

His lady was not unaffected by the fashions emanating from the court of Charles II. (See page 74 *et seq.*) Her bodice was longer in the waist now, descending to a point in front. Her neck and much of her shoulders were left bare, or were perhaps draped with a scarf of lace or gauze. The sleeves were sometimes puffed, sometimes wide and straight, reaching to about the elbow, where they terminated in a fall of lace or a fringe of ribbons. Sometimes the full sleeve of the chemise was allowed to show.

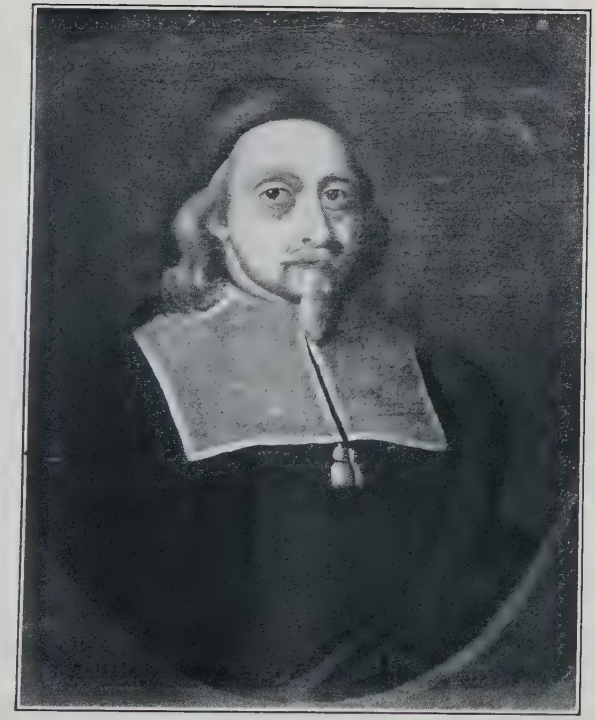
The skirt was still full, gathered snugly to the waist in pleats and looped back in front to display the satin petticoat. As in the case of the men's attire, ribbons were apt to appear almost anywhere on the costume. They were often worn in the hair, which was brushed back and allowed to fall in curls to the shoulders. Head-gear was out of fashion for women save for light scarfs, or, in bad weather, a hood of heavy material. Shoes were becoming more pointed, and heels were high in the French fashion. The planter's lady, when she went abroad, often wore a large cloaklike garment, or mantua, or even a long traveling coat cut in much the same fashion as her husband's. Like him, she would pull on leather or woolen stockings over her fine silk ones. He might prefer long riding-boots of soft

leather, and in winter a match-coat of sewn skins with the fur inside.

Very little of the apparel of the upper classes was of native cut or manufacture. The homespun linens and woolens were too coarse, and the local tailors too inexpert for an exacting taste. Homespun and home-tailored articles were the portion of servants, slaves, and the poor. The planter, be he ever so heavily in debt, must have his clothes new from London every year. Beverley, in his "History of Virginia," published about a quarter of a century later, says of them:

> They have their Cloathing of all sorts from England, as Linnen, Woollen, Silk, Hats, and Leather. Yet Flax, and Hemp grow no where in the World, better than there; their Sheep yield a mighty Increase, and bear good Fleeces; but they shear them only to cool them. The Mulberry-Tree, whose Leaf is the proper Food of the Silk-Worm, grows there like a Weed, and Silk-Worms have been observ'd to thrive extreamly, and without any hazard. The very Furrs that their Hats are made of, perhaps go first from thence; and most of their Hides lie and rot, or are made use of, only for covering dry Goods, in a leaky House. Indeed some few Hides with much adoe are tann'd, and made into Servants Shoes; but at so careless a rate, that the Planters don't care to buy them, if they can get others; and sometimes perhaps a better manager than ordinary, will vouchsafe to make a pair of Breeches of a Deer-Skin.

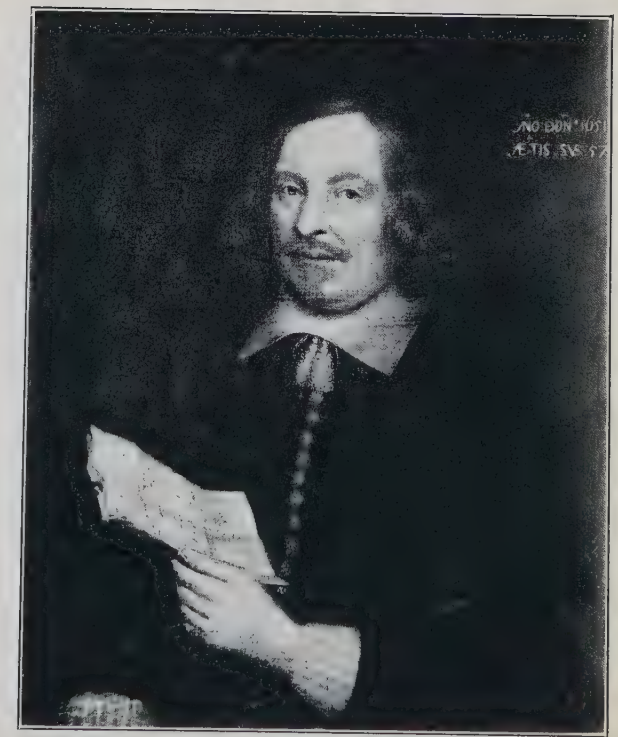
The fact of the matter is that there were such huge profits in a successful crop of tobacco that neither thought nor energy could be spared for pursuits less lucrative. Many were cognizant of the one-sided de-



Courtesy of Essex Institute

A

GOVERNOR JOHN ENDICOTT (1588–1665)



B

Courtesy of Pilgrim Hall

velopment of the colony, and of its dangers; but effort to institute spinning-schools and to encourage local industries usually had but indifferent success.

Such materials as were spun and woven at home and fashioned into garments fell, of course, to the lot of the lower classes. No man wore homespun if he could afford London clothes. However much the small planters, farmers, and tradesmen might wish to imitate the dress of their wealthy neighbors, their imported wardrobes would often have to be supplemented by the cheaper and less skilfully woven linens, broadcloths, kerseys, linsey-woolseys, and friezes of the province. In cut they would follow the best fashion as well as they could. Their dress was essentially the same as that of the wealthy, save that it was simpler and stripped of much of its braid, embroidery, and ribbons. The artisans were content with fustian, canvas coats, and leather breeches, with a suit of broadcloth for Sundays.

Thus poor and rich alike followed as best they could the dress and manners of the homeland; and in spite of the distance and slow sailing ships of the day, the contact was remarkably close. The Virginia of 1675 was still a river province in which the planter from his own wharf, and often in his own ships, kept up an almost uninterrupted communication with England.

I. MEN'S COSTUME

1607–1620

The costume worn by the early Virginian settlers was in the English style associated with the reigns of

Queen Elizabeth and James I. This style appeared in England and western Europe about the middle of the sixteenth century and can be traced directly back to Spain. It is, in fact, usually referred to as the "Spanish bombast" style, and lasted until the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

The chief characteristics of this style in men's garments were a rather uncompromising rigid outline, brought about by tight-fitting or corseted doublets, with collars rising high about the neck, and topped with ruffs, bands, and whisks. The trunk hose was greatly distended with buckram and bombast, while the men's legs were incased in tight, close-fitting stockings or tights (Fig. 1 A C).

Body Garments.—The long, tight-waisted, stiffened doublet underwent many minor changes from the time of its introduction in England until 1620–25. One does not, however, meet with it in American costume in its period of greatest exaggeration, that period from 1580 to 1600 when it became exceedingly fantastic in form, especially in the peascod-belly type, where it was stuffed out in a ridge down the front and overhung the girdle. The peascod form appeared in varying degrees of grotesqueness until the early years of the seventeenth century, when it became greatly modified. However, it could still be traced in the long ridge down the center of the doublet, ending in a pointed waist-line. This lasted until the end of the period.

The use of buckram and padding made the doublet rigid in outline. Corsets, termed busks, were generally

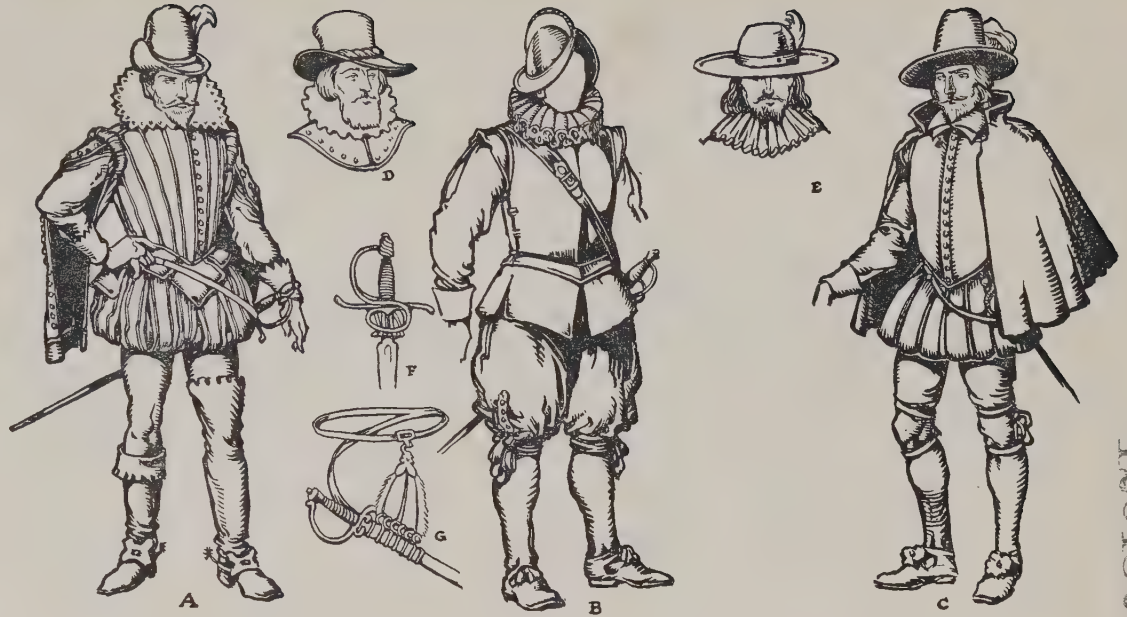


FIGURE 1

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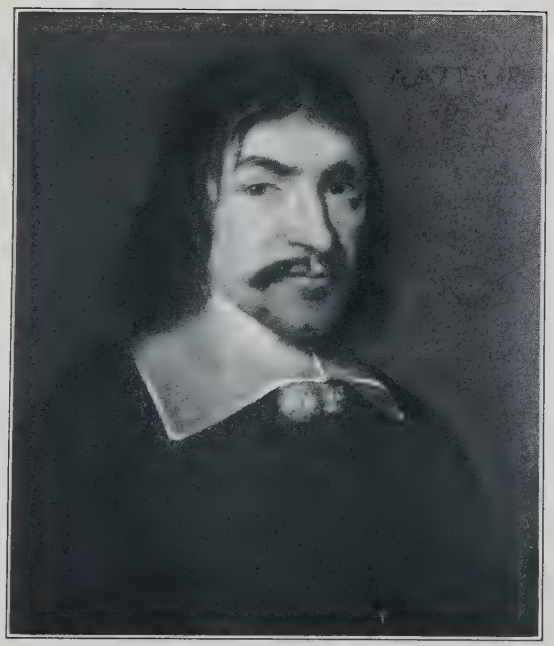
worn under the doublet, and laced in tightly at the waist (Fig. 1 A C. Fig. 2 B C). The doublet might be provided with skirts below the waist-line (Fig. 1 A. Fig. 2 B C) or simply end at the waist (Fig. 1 C).

FIGURE 2

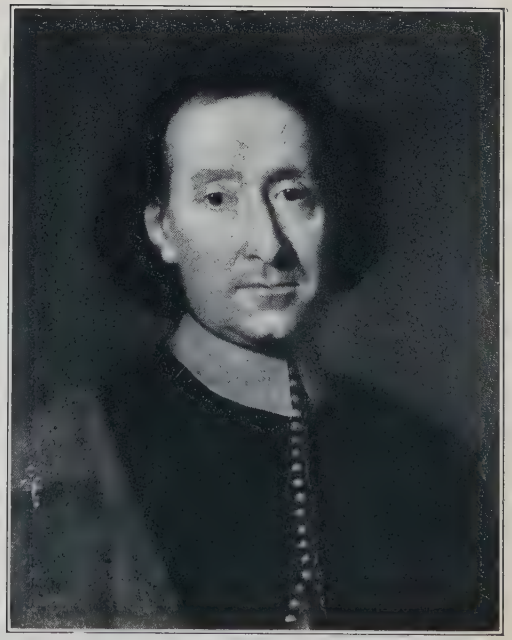
As a rule, tight sleeves were worn with the doublet (Fig. 2), though a full sleeve tapering from the shoulder to a tight band at the wrist was often preferred (Fig. 1 A C). The sleeves were usually separate and were tied to the armholes of the doublet by means of points. (Points were laces usually provided with a metal tag or point.) Where the sleeve met the doublet the joint was, as a rule, hidden by a roll of material crescent in form (Fig. 1 A. Fig. 2 A), or by a jutting piece of material called a "wing" (Plates II, III. Fig. 1 B. Fig. 2 B C). Long slits or lashes, known as panes, often decorated the front and back of the doublet (Fig. 1 A. Fig. 2 B).



By kind permission of Thomas Benedict Clarke and the Pennsylvania Museum A

JAN STRYCKER (1617–1697)

By Jacobus Gerritsen Strycker. Painted 1655



B *By kind permission of Thomas Benedict Clarke and the Pennsylvania Museum*

ADRIAN VAN DER DONCK (1618–1655)

By Jacobus Gerritsen Strycker. Painted

Ruffs, Collars, Cuffs.—The high tight collar of the doublet might be surmounted by a stiff linen collar or band (Plates II, III. Fig. 1 c), this collar a continuation of the fine linen shirt worn under the doublet. This collar, or falling band, never seems to have gone out of style during the whole period, and was in great favor in the colonies. For dress occasions the ruff was worn in various degrees of size and richness. It was starched, and the sets, held together by wires, took the place of bands (Plate IV. Fig. 1 b. Fig. 2 a).

About the time of the first settlement of Jamestown, one finds the fan-shaped whisks encircling the head and ending in a square line under the chin (Fig. 1 a. Fig. 2 c). It was also about this time that the upstanding ruff descended over the shoulders, developing into the type known as the falling ruff (Plate V. Fig. 1 e. Fig. 2 b). This falling ruff further developed during the Cavalier period into the lace collar that fell over the shoulders of the Cavalier (Plate XI). At the wrists were turned-back cuffs (Fig. 1 a b c. Fig. 2 a b) or ruffles (Fig. 2 c), which were usually in harmony with the neck-piece.

The Jerkin.—The jerkin was cut on the same lines as the doublet and was made to fit smoothly over it. In the drawings and paintings of the period it is very difficult to distinguish it from the doublet. Leather jerkins were in especial favor with soldiers, and must have been extremely serviceable in the colonies. In Figure 1 b a leather jerkin is shown worn under a breastplate.

Breeches.—In breeches there was quite a selection,

the most popular being the "pumpkin-shaped" trunk hose, with long, tailored stockings attached (Fig. 1 A C). Trunk hose were of every variety and size, from small rolls around the hips to the trunk hose that came in about 1600. These were cut full, and descended to

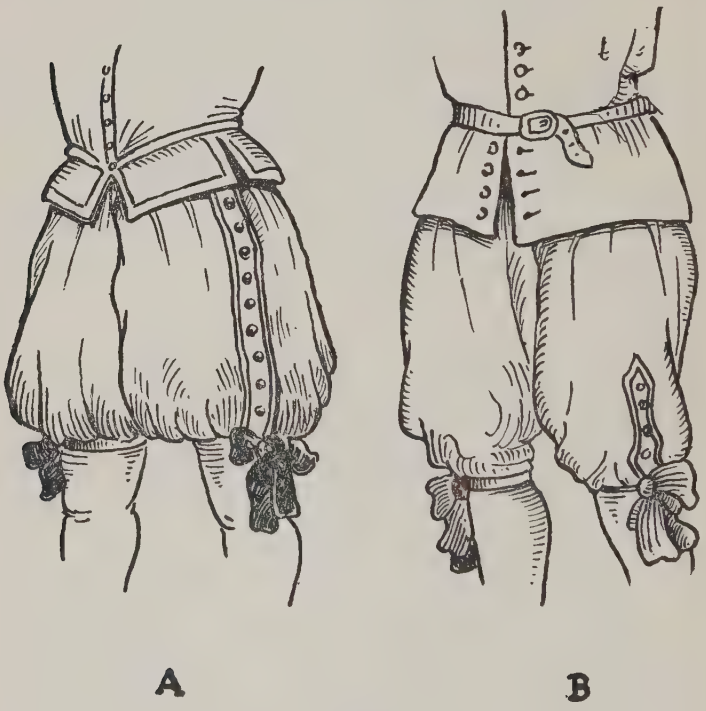


FIGURE 3

within a few inches of the knees (Plate III B. Fig. 3 A). Sometimes the trunk hose spread out from the waist, ending in a square base, as in Figure 1 C.

Trunk hose were sliced into vertical strips attached at the top and bottom, allowing the lining, usually of a contrasting color, to show through.

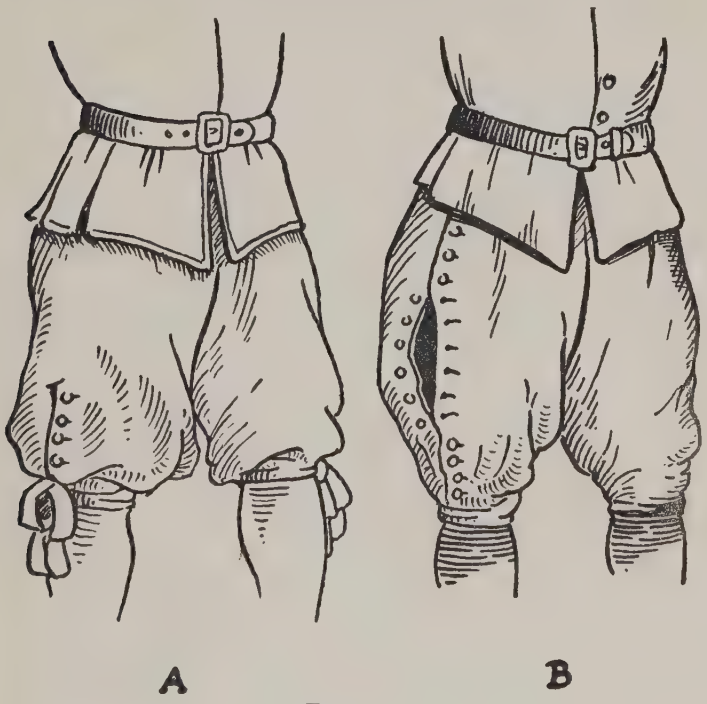


FIGURE 4

By the time the colonists came to America the full knee-breeches, usually termed venetians, were greatly worn (Plates II, III A. Fig. 1 B. Fig. 3 B. Fig. 4 A B). They had become popular in England as early as 1575. They fitted tight around the waist and were very full over the hips, tapering to below the knees,

where they were either tied or buttoned. Open breeches of knee length cut very full, cylindrical in shape, and trimmed at the side of the knees with a fall of lace, were also in vogue.

It is common to find a kind of breeches called canions. They were worn with trunk hose and took the place of the long, tailored stockings. They were close-fitting, descending either to above or below the knees (Fig. 1 c). Often they were made of richly figured material. Knitted stockings generally accompanied canions. If the canions were tight at the knee, the stockings were pulled up over them and confined by garters placed below the knees. These garters were crossed in back and carried to the front above the knee, where they were tied in a bow at the side (Fig. 1 c). If, however, the canions were loose, the stockings were worn under them.

Cloaks.—Cloaks formed an important part of the costume and were of great variety in cut and length. In Figure 1 c is seen the short Spanish cloak reaching to the hips, and with a high-stepped upstanding collar. According to the taste of the wearer, it might be considerably longer or shorter than this. Cloaks reaching to the ankles must have been conducive to warmth and comfort in the winters, which Captain John Smith tells us were cold and damp. From time to time these English-made cloaks were copied in furs for which the settlers had bartered with the Indians. Cloaks were worn in many ways: suspended in the usual manner, thrown over the shoulder, or worn diagonally across the back.

Foot-gear.—Tight-fitting boots of soft leather were generally worn. They could be pulled up over the knees, where they extended to about mid-thigh; or they could be rolled down below the knee (Fig. 1 a. Fig. 5). It was not an unusual thing to see a man of this period

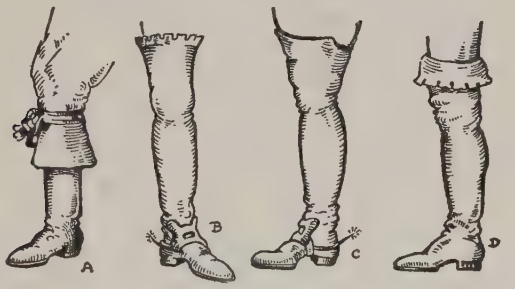


Figure 5

wearing one boot pulled up and the other turned down.

When boots were worn they were usually accompanied by boot hose. Boot hose were strongly made stockings worn as a protection to the regular stockings from the wear of the boot.

By the time Jamestown was settled, heels to shoes were in pretty general use. The shoes had a moderate round point or a slightly square ending. They were held in place by a band over the instep. Slippers were pulled on over the shoes as a protection for out-of-door wear.

Head-gear.—As each immigrant to the colonies was advised to provide himself with a Monmouth cap (Fig. 30 b), they must have been a fairly common sight in Virginia during the cooler seasons of the year.

The Monmouth cap was made of knitted wool and fitted tight to the head. It was provided with a circular brim and a long peaked top that hung over one side and ended in a tassel. Besides this cap, there was great variety in hats, hats with either tall, short, round, peaked, or truncated crowns all being in vogue. The brims could be narrow (Fig. 1 A) or wide (Fig. 1 C D E. Fig. 2 B C); decorated with feathers or left plain. Probably the hats with the wide brims were the most popular (Plates II, III A) as giving greater protection from the sun in the hot summer months.

Hair and Beard.—The hair was a matter of considerable attention and could be worn in many different ways. However, the hair cut fairly close to the head was the most popular style (Plates II, III. Fig. 1 A. Fig. 2). Occasionally one finds hair worn long enough to hang upon the shoulders (Plates IV, V. Fig. 1 C D E).

While the pointed beard was the most common form (Fig. 1 A C. Fig. 2), only the younger men having their faces clean shaven, one does find square (Plate IV A. Fig. 1 D) and spreading beards. In rare instances they were forked (Fig. 1 E).

Gloves.—Men's gloves were, as a rule, richly embroidered, provided with gauntlets, and often fringed. They became a very fashionable part of the costume, (Plate IV B).

Swords.—The sword and dagger were now generally worn with civilian costume. The sword was the long, thin, tapering, rapier-like blade used for thrusting (Fig. 1 A). The grip, pommel, and quillon were

further provided with a complicated guard (Fig. 1 F G). The dagger was long, straight, and tapering, with an ornamental hilt. It was carried in a sheath and hung from the sword-belt on the right side.

The sword-belt was a narrow strip of leather encircling the waist, and from which the sword sheath was usually suspended by a hanger (Fig. 1 A G. Fig. 2 A).

ARMOR.—In Europe a noticeable deterioration in the art of making armor had set in considerably before the year 1600, and the encouragement formerly given to the art of the armorer was now centered in the productions of "the swordsmith, the gunsmith and the cannon founder." Not only the improvement in guns and ammunition, but also the development in military tactics, necessitating the more rapid movement of troops, gave new importance to the infantry. All this finally helped to relegate the use of armor from the previous importance it held on the Continent.

During the reign of James I the cavalry likewise showed a general tendency to discard heavy, cumbersome armor as being no longer effective. Especially was this true among the officers, who now appeared at the head of their troops protected only by a cuirass. In a short time this fashion spread to the troops, so that in the reign of Charles I one finds whole regiments thus accoutered. Cromwell's cavalry was usually armed in three-quarter suits. In the time of Charles II, James II, and William and Mary, however, while officers still wore the breastplate over their buff coats, armor for the common soldier was practically abandoned.

By the time, then, of the first Virginia settlements, full armor had gradually given place to half and three-quarter suits, and later to the simple cuirass worn over the buff coat. While whole suits of armor may have been worn from time to time during the early years of the colonization of America, it is difficult to conceive of this as being a general practice. If this was so, these complete suits were probably only worn by the officers and soldiers guarding the fortified towns. As has been seen, armor was heavy and cumbersome. When one remembers the poor roads, mere rutted tracks, the endless miles of wilderness to be traveled, and the nature of Indian warfare, it is easily comprehended how the wearing of much armor was soon discouraged. So, from the beginnings of the colonies one finds armor being laid aside part by part, until with the coming of the Cavalier period the breastplate, the backplate, and the helmet were alone retained.

A half suit of armor (Fig. 6 B), dating from the end of the sixteenth century and worn all through the first quarter of the seventeenth century, consisted of a breast and back plate in the form of a cuirass, the waistline descending to a slight point in front. The breastplate had a slight tapul. The armholes were edged with a rope border from under which protruded the goussets. A tace of one plate was attached to the lower part of the breastplate; and from the tace depended three tassets, protecting the upper part of the thigh. Upon the head was worn the morion, or perhaps the burgonet, or even a broad-brimmed hat.

The sword was the long, thin, tapering blade with

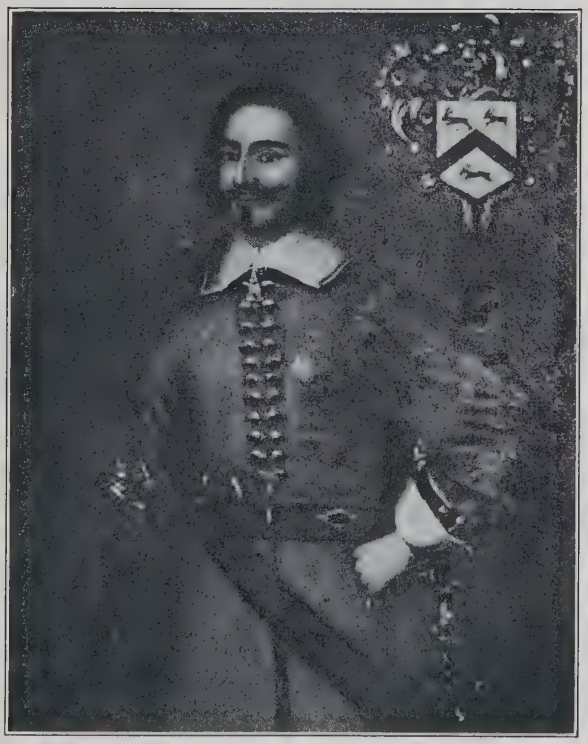


PLATE X *Courtesy of the Essex Institute*

JOHN LEVERETT (1616–1678/9)

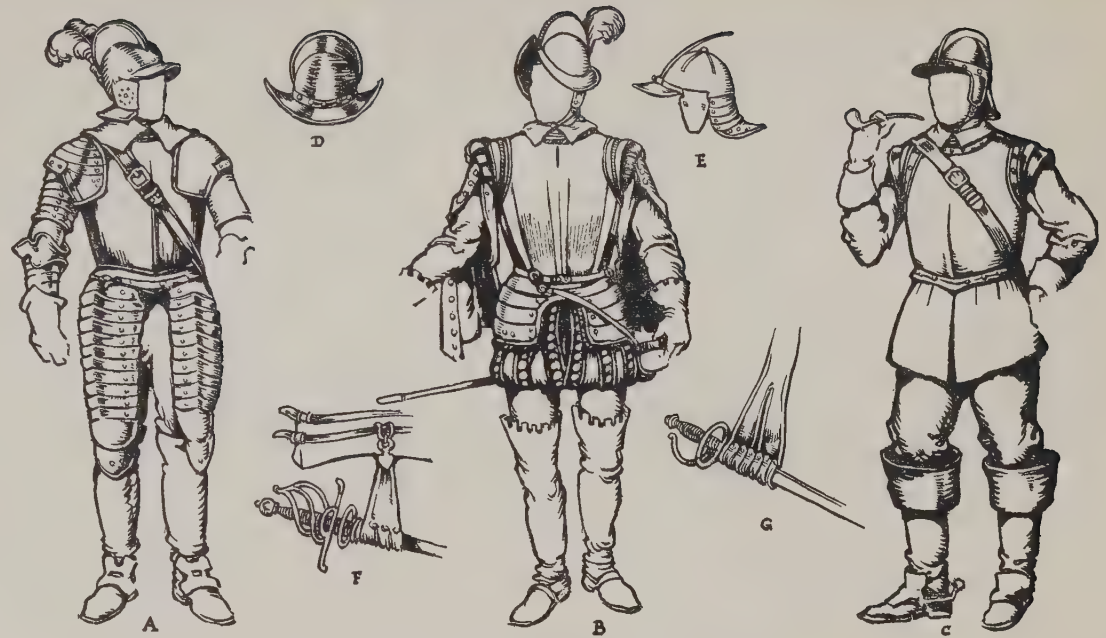


FIGURE 6

an ornamental guard, and was held in a scabbard suspended from hangers attached to a narrow strip of leather encircling the waist and serving as a sword-belt.

Heavy gloves protected the hands, and boots of the same material pulled up over the knee or rolled down were invariably worn.

A three-quarter suit of armor of a later date is shown in Figure 6 A. It dates from about the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century, and is a good example of the type of armor worn until armor was discarded by either Cavaliers or Roundheads. The suit consisted of a back and breast plate and a gorget of several lames protecting the neck. The shoulders were protected by laminated pauldrons. Brassarts, vambraces, coudières, and gauntlets protected the arms and hands. From the tace depended the tassets, covering the front of the legs. Genouillières guarded the knees and were attached to the bottom lame of the tassets. A small helmet (Fig. 6 A), a burgonet (Fig. 6 C E), a morion (Fig. 6 B D), or, later, the triple-barred helmet were the various types of protective covering for the head.

It was customary, from the early years of the seventeenth century, for officers and soldiers to put aside most of the armor, retaining merely the cuirass and helmet. A man of the Cavalier period so armed is shown in Figure 6 C. Here the body armor and helmet are alone retained. The backplate and breastplate, buckled over the shoulders and down the sides, were usually worn over the buff coat, the skirts of which extended below the cuirass. His head was protected by a burgonet, hav-

ing a laminated neck guard, cheek pieces, buckled under the chin, and a visor. A shoulder-strap crossing the body from the right shoulder supported the sword that hung from hangers on the left side. Stout leather breeches and boots formed part of the general scheme.

II. WOMEN'S COSTUME

1609–1620

The year 1619 is a memorable one in the history of Virginia and has a direct bearing upon the costume of the colonies, for it was in this year that ninety young women came to the New World to be wives of the settlers. Unfortunately, there is no contemporary description of the costume they wore, nor of the wardrobe they brought with them. One's conclusions must of necessity be largely a matter of conjecture, based upon one's knowledge of costume as worn by Englishwomen in the last years of the reign of James I; and, further, based upon the position these young women held in the society from which they were recruited. The problem is made more difficult in that clothes in the year 1619 were in the last stage of the Elizabethan style, which extended from about the middle of the sixteenth century until the seventeenth year of the reign of James I. During the next ten years, 1620–30, costume was to undergo a complete transformation. Farthingales, ruffs, tightly laced and long-waisted bodices were soon to go out of fashion, making way for the simpler and more easy-fitting costume of the Cavalier period.

If the young women who had elected to throw in

their lot with the colonists of the New World had been of the wealthy upper classes instead of women of the middle class, generally lacking in funds, they might have appeared in large cartwheel or Spanish farthingales, with elaborate lace collars and ruffs, and long, tightly laced bodices. Some of the ladies may have had just such a costume in a rather restricted style among their belongings, to wear at the opportune moment to dazzle the eyes of their prospective husbands (Fig. 7 A). On the whole, however, their wardrobe must have been selected with a view to the sterner necessities of life they would have to face in Virginia. In those early years colonial life was not one of ease and pleasure. This phase was to come later when the colonies began to prosper and grow rich.

The Bodice.—The bodice was generally long-waisted. It was tightly laced and descended into a decided point in the front (Fig. 7 A B C. Fig. 8 B). The styles for low-neck gowns, edged with an upstanding collar of lace, were extremely fashionable among ladies of wealth and position; and in a modified way were followed by women of the middle classes (Fig. 7 A. Fig. 8 A). In the middle classes the high-neck gown, the collar surmounted by a medium-sized starched ruff, was more usual (Fig. 7 B. Fig. 8 B). With but a few additions of their own, all the different forms of ruffs, bands, and collars worn by the men were also worn by the women.

An even plainer bodice might be one that was not so stiffened and tightly laced but made to fit closely to

By kind permission of Mrs. William B. Scofield and Mr. Andrew Wolcott Sigourney and the Worcester Art Museum

A

JOHN FREKE

Painted about 1674

B

THOMAS SAVAGE (1607–1681)

Painted about 1675

PLATE XI

FIGURE 7

the figure (Fig. 7 c. Fig. 8 a). A wired-out whisk of linen that spread from a square base would be worn around the neck (Fig. 7 c). For those who dressed in the simplest manner, a broad, falling collar of white

Figure 8

linen was worn (Fig. 7 e). The sleeves would have been tight, finished at the wrist with linen cuffs, turned back and matching the collar.

Close-fitting sleeves with cuffs of pointed lace at the wrists were general (Fig. 7 a. Fig. 8 b). These tight sleeves could be varied by fairly full sleeves (Fig. 7 b. Fig. 8 a). Often a hanging sleeve was found falling from the elbow or shoulder (Fig. 7 b). Crescents (Fig. 7 c. Fig. 8 b) or more usually wings (Fig. 7 b) were

worn at the shoulders, where the sleeve met the bodice.

Skirts.—As the ninety young women came to Virginia at the time the farthingale skirt was still in fashion, it might be of interest to briefly describe its make-up. It is closely associated with Elizabethan styles, and first made its appearance in England and western Europe from Spain about the middle of the sixteenth century. At this time it was cone-shaped, formed by graduating hoops of bone, fastened to a skirt, large at the bottom but gradually lessening in size as it reached the waist. Over this the skirt was worn. About the end of the third quarter of the century, a new form appeared, known as the French farthingale. It consisted of a bolster tied around the hips, over which the skirt was draped, causing it to extend to its fullest at the hips, and from there falling straight to the ground. Toward the end of the sixteenth century this style was further accentuated by a wheel of pleated material that was worn like a great ruff around the waist and resting upon the bolster tied around the hips. This cartwheel farthingale was the most popular form during the first quarter of the seventeenth century; but the original Spanish type was worn at the same time, and was never completely ousted from favor by its rival.

The simplest type of skirt was one having no farthingale under it, but was cut full and hung in rich folds to within a few inches of the ground (Fig. 7 A B). Most of the skirts had an opening in front, exposing an underskirt of a different material (Fig. 7 A B C). Usually, if the outer skirt was plain, the underskirt was

of a figured stuff. The opening often took an inverted V-shape form (Fig. 7 B).

Coiffures.—There was a growing tendency to leave off hoods and caps in order to show the hair. A fashion of dressing the hair quite high over the forehead and decorating it with feathers was much in vogue (Fig. 7 A). A great deal of false hair was used in creating these high coiffures. When the open-work bonnet of lace, linen, or cambric was worn (Fig. 7 B), the hair was dressed low, with a roll placed under the hair in front. This bonnet was made on a wire frame bent to the shape desired.

Even at this time the hair was occasionally dressed in the manner usually associated with the reign of Charles I, where the curls hung in clusters on each side of the head, and the front hair was worn in a bang or fringe over the forehead.

Head-gear.—As can be seen in the familiar portrait of Pocahontas and Figure 7 C E, women had adopted a masculine style of hat, in form a high-peaked or truncated crown and a wide brim. A rolled band of some rich material was placed around the crown, a feather usually ornamenting the side. Other forms of masculine hats were worn, particularly for riding and traveling. These, because of the long sea voyage, were undoubtedly the head-dress chosen by the group of women who came to the colonies.

Cloaks, etc.—For warmth during the ocean voyage, and for the winter months, the women wore shawls crossed over the shoulders and descending in points in front; or an oblong piece of material was worn over

Courtesy of Essex Institute

A

CAPTAIN GEORGE CURWIN (1610–1685)

B

GEORGE DOWNING

the head and shoulders. Capes, long and short, similar to those worn by men, were also part of these women's attire.

Accessories.—Gloves with long gauntlets that came up over the wrist, and decorated with needlework, were quite common and very fashionable (Fig. 7 F). Small muffs (Fig. 8 B), feathered fans (Fig. 7 A), paint, powder and patches, small mirrors hanging from the waist, made up the accessories to the costume.

Foot-gear.—Shoes were usually hidden by the long skirts; but when skirts of ankle length were worn, one could see that the shoes were quite similar to those worn by men. They fitted the foot closely, ending in a square toe decorated over the instep with a rose ribbon. As a protection in wet weather, pattens with thick cork or wooden soles were worn over the shoes.

III. CAVALIER COSTUME: MEN

1620–1675

By 1625 the Virginia colonies had begun to sense the coming of that prosperity which was soon to give them the opportunity of turning their attention to other things in life besides the laborious work of home-building. In fact, even at this date, 1625, men and women eagerly watched the changing styles of costume as they occurred in England, and followed each new fashion as closely as it was possible, considering the distance and the time it took to get new ideas from the mother-country.

The stiff Jacobean style was gradually giving way

before the simpler and more elegant costume of Charles I's reign. It took a decade, however, to bring this about, and the years between 1620 and 1630 were the years of transition, during which the Cavalier costume underwent many changes, finally emerging in its full development.

FIGURE 9

BODY GARMENTS.—During the years 1620 to 1630 the doublet lost much of the rigidity of outline that had characterized it up to this time. Whalebones were gradually discarded, though the waist-line in the more fashionable types still retained its pointed form with a skirt of overlapping tabs decorated with bow-knots or points (Fig. 9 A). In the everyday doublet the freedom from stiffening and busks was still more evident. The

waist-line was beginning to straighten; but the skirts still kept their pointed form (Fig. 9 B). A doublet made of leather, canvas, fustian, or linsey-woolsey, shaped to the body without any clearly marked waist-

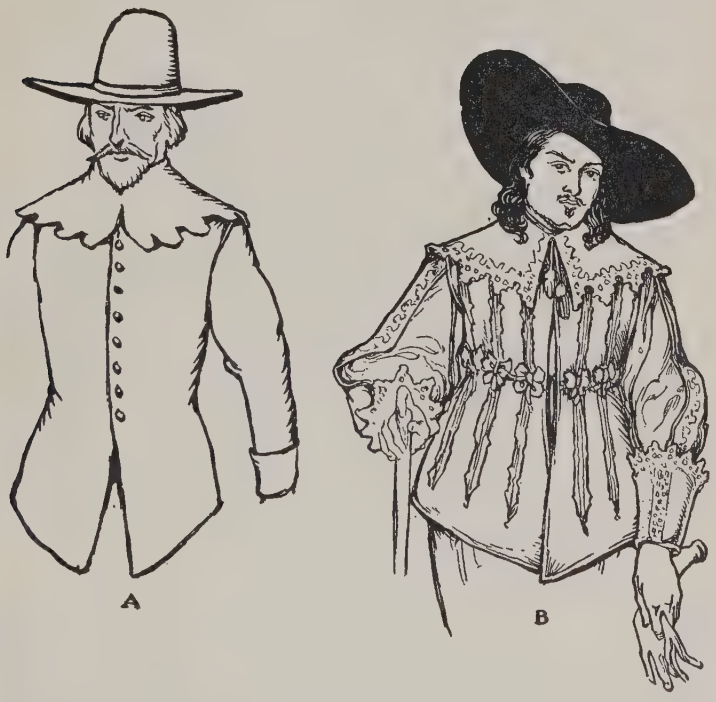


FIGURE 10

line but having full skirts, was the type adopted by people of moderate means for general wear (Fig. 10 A).

The body and sleeves were often slashed or paned, allowing the linen shirt, worn underneath, to show through (Fig. 9 A B). Wings at the shoulders were gen-

eral and the sleeves usually full (Fig. 9 B) or full and paned from the shoulder to the elbow, and from the elbow to the wrist, fitting quite close (Fig. 9 A).

By 1630 the Cavalier costume was established in England. Though the great exodus of Cavaliers to

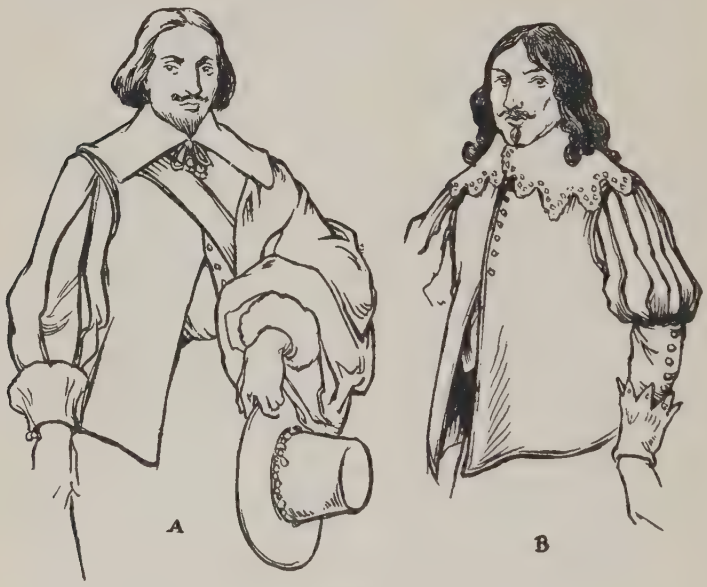


FIGURE 11

Virginia from England did not set in until 1649, when Charles I was beheaded at Whitehall, it is reasonably sure that it was only shortly after 1630 that the new style was adopted by the rich planters and Cavaliers in the colonies.

Gradually the waist-line was carried higher up, the corset shape done away with, and the skirts increased

in length (Fig. 10 B. Fig. 11 A). From 1630 on, the fashionable way of wearing the doublet was to leave it unbuttoned from below the breast, so that a glimpse of the linen shirt would be exposed to view (Fig. 10 B). The sleeves were usually cut quite full, tapering to the wrist. They were open down the front seam, and through the opening could be seen the voluminous sleeves of the linen shirt. Points were not always worn at the waist, but often done away with entirely, especially in the doublets of the lower classes, as will be seen also in the Puritan New England costume.

Shortly after 1640 the doublet became quite changed in appearance. The waist-line with its accompanying points and skirt practically disappeared, resulting in a much shorter doublet built upon fairly straight lines; buttoned part way down the front to about the breast, from which point it was allowed to remain open (Fig. 11 A B). The sleeves were generally cut full and were open down the seam as previously. They could also be closed by buttoning (Fig. 12). Though one still met with the earlier type of sleeve cut full and paned on the upper arm, yet they were also found close-fitting from the elbow to the wrist.

The last phase of the doublet was ushered in about 1660. While it remained in fashion for some time after the introduction of the coat and vest, yet during the last quarter of the seventeenth century it gradually gave place to those newer and more fashionable garments, the coat and vest. The doublet was still further shortened, and opened in the front, until it was a mere abbreviation of its former self and resembled a small

jacket (Fig. 13 A B). This gave a better opportunity to show off the shirt in front and all around under the doublet, where it fell in full pleats over the waist band of the breeches (Fig. 13 A B).

Sleeves varied in character. One style reached to the elbow, fit fairly close, and possessed a small cuff turned

FIGURE 12

back, from under which the full sleeve of the shirt spread out to be confined at the wrist in a band edged with a ruffle (Fig. 13 C). This sleeve was in style from about 1660 until the doublet went out of fashion.

Still another variety of sleeve is seen in Figure 13 B. Here the sleeve of the doublet reaches to a little above the elbow. Instead of the turned-back cuff, the sleeve is bell-shaped. The sleeves might be closed or

slit down the front, either buttoned up or left open. A very fashionable sleeve is shown in Figure 13 A, where the rather full sleeve is turned back in a broad cuff ending a little below the elbow. At the shoulder there might be a cluster of ribbons. Beneath the cuff is

FIGURE 13

seen the very full sleeve of the linen shirt tied in several places with ribbons.

The leather jerkin, or buff coat, must have been greatly worn, as it not only offered good protection from knife thrusts, but also a fair protection from Indian arrows. It was especially serviceable for rough out-of-door wear. It was really the military garment of the seventeenth century, and Planché says it was

"formed of the hide of a buffalo, whence its name." It was made very strong, and the leather from which it was constructed was often as much as an eighth of an inch in thickness. The buff coat was probably first worn under armor; but as armor gradually fell into disuse, the buff coat was retained, being worn either as the sole protective garment (Fig. 12) or with the breast and back plate over it (Fig. 6 C. Fig. 2 A), or with the neck alone guarded by the metal gorget (Fig. 1 D).

The buff coat was usually provided with quite long skirts reaching to the hips, or even to mid-thigh (Plate X. Fig. 6 C. Fig. 35 B). It was generally laced up the front with points. The sleeves could be either of leather or made out of some strong material. The buff coat, however, seems usually to have been made without sleeves, in which case it would be worn over a doublet to which sleeves were attached.

Occasionally a sash was worn around the waist and tied with a bow-knot on the left side (Fig. 2 A). The sword hung on the left side, being attached to a baldric, or shoulder-strap, crossing the body from the right shoulder (Fig. 12). A bandolier in the form of a shoulder-belt hung across the body from the left shoulder. From it hung a "bullet-bag, priming box and a row of little cylindrical boxes or cases, each containing a single musket charge of powder." A small falling band, a linen or a lace collar was worn at the neck (Fig. 25).

In place of a hat a helmet might be worn. It would be either the triple-barred helmet of the burgonet type,

A

STEPHEN WINTHROP (1618–16—?)

B

ROBERT BOLLING (1646–1709)

PLATE XIII

often called lobster-tailed from the joined flaps covering the back of the neck (Fig. 6 E); a small helmet (Fig. 6 A); or even a morion (Fig. 6 D).

BREECHES.—Just as the doublet lost its rigid and bombasted outline, so the breeches followed the same general tendency. Trunk hose were probably worn for some time after 1620, but gave way toward 1625 to full knee-breeches cut on the pattern of the old venetians, but no longer padded and stuffed (Fig. 14 A).

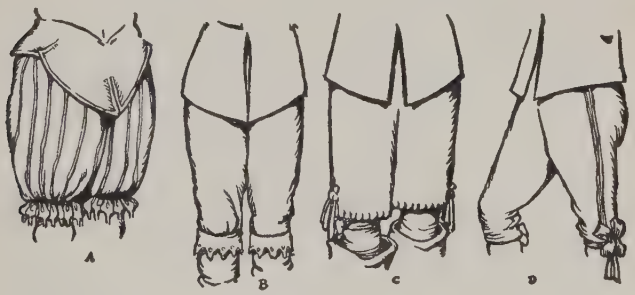


FIGURE 14

These knickers usually reached to about the knee, or a little below it, and were either fringed with points, or loops of ribbon; or tied with ribbon garters.

Two other styles of knee-breeches came into fashion by 1630. The first (Fig. 14 D) were somewhat the shape of bellows. The waist-band was high and tight, the breeches being full over the hips and tapering to below the knees, where they were fastened by ribbon garters tied in a bow on the outside of the knee, the end of the ribbons hanging in points. In place of the ribbon bow, a ribbon rosette might be used. The other

variety of breeches (Fig. 14 B) was cut the same width all the way down and brought over the knee, but unconfined. Sometimes, as in Figure 14 C, they just reached the knee, also hanging free, loops of ribbon forming a stripe on the outside of the leg, as well as ornamenting the hem with loops. Most of the breeches of the period were decorated with braid or loops of ribbon running down the sides; also with points or bunches of ribbon knots and rosettes. The styles just described were worn well into the sixteen sixties.

The petticoat, or rhinegrave breeches, were the favorite style in England during the greater part of the reign of Charles II. As early as 1658 they came into use in England, coming from western Europe, where they had been in fashion since 1655. Shortly after their introduction into London fashion they found their way into the court circles of the colonial governors, and were also included in the wardrobes of the rich planters of Virginia and the South. These latter, as has been seen, kept in close touch with the latest fashions of the mother-country.

The petticoat-breeches consisted of a wide skirt or kilt (Fig. 15 A C), usually made in the form of a divided skirt (Fig. 15 B). The lining of the breeches was very full and hung lower than the skirt. It was gathered and tied above the knee, thus forming the breeches. The breeches were adorned with bunches and loops of ribbons and edgings of lace (Fig. 15 A B C). Very often they had a fall of ribbons descending over the waist-band (Fig. 15 A B C). While with the advent of the long tailored coat they began to lose favor about

1670, yet they persisted as a fashion until the first years of the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

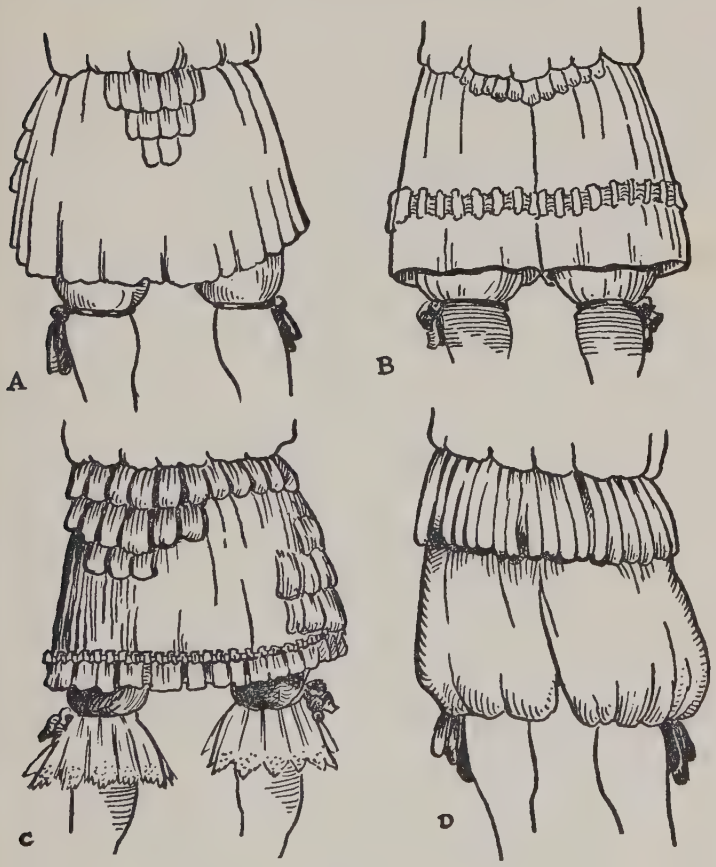


FIGURE 15

Contemporaneously with these petticoat-breeches, many planters still wore the full-cut breeches that were

"fulled at the waist and the knee," after the Dutch fashion, and similar to our modern knickers, with ribbon loops falling over the waist-band (Fig. 15 D).

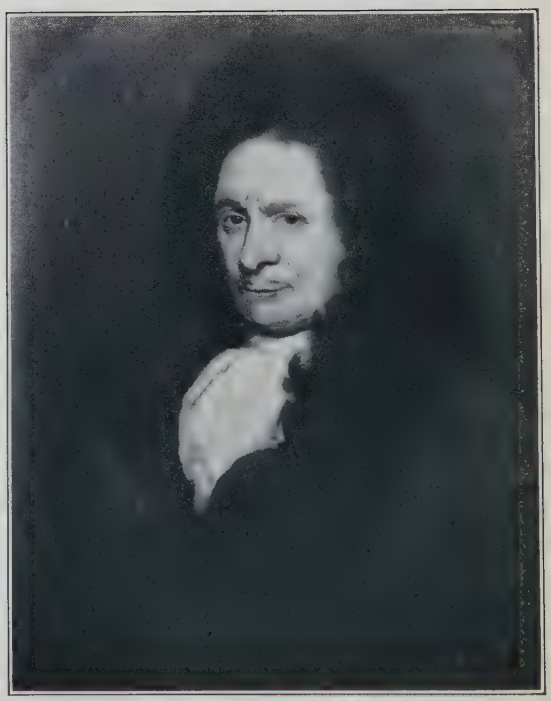
Stockings.— As the manner of wearing hose with the petticoat-breeches is so characteristic of this type of dress, it might be well to treat of them here. The usual type of stocking, gartered above the knee, was worn by many; but among men of fashion one finds the "long stirrup hose" in use. These had previously been worn between the silk stockings and the boots as a protection to the former when boots were so generally the fashion. These boot-hose were very wide at the top, where they were fitted with eyelets and points with which they were made fast to the breeches (Fig. 15 A B). Often a second pair was worn over the first, these being gathered below the knee with a garter and turned down (Fig. 15 C). It is reasonable to suppose that this drooping top might have been simply a piece of lace, silk, or linen worn in the same manner.

Silk stockings were the fashion for those who could afford such luxuries. The humbler people wore knitted stockings of wool or of some coarser material.

Boot-hose, stockings made of some stout material, were worn over the silk stockings to protect them when boots were worn. The tops of the boot-hose were often of lace or scalloped linen, and hung over the tops of the boots (Fig. 17 D E). Later, as has been seen, they were worn in conjunction with the petticoat-breeches.

Cloaks.—In the early years of this period the short cloaks and capes of the Jacobean fashion were worn; but these soon gave way to cloaks of greater length.

A



B

By kind permission of Thomas Benedict Clarke and the Pennsylvania Museum

FREDERICK PHILIPSE (1626–1702)

OLOFF STEVENSE VAN CORTLANDT (1610–1684)

These cloaks were worn either slung over both shoulders in the conventional way (Fig. 16 B), or were worn diagonally across the back, or simply hung over one shoulder (Fig. 16 A). By the time the Cavalier costume was developed, however, large silk or cloth cloaks took their place. These cloaks were used as wraps, and were

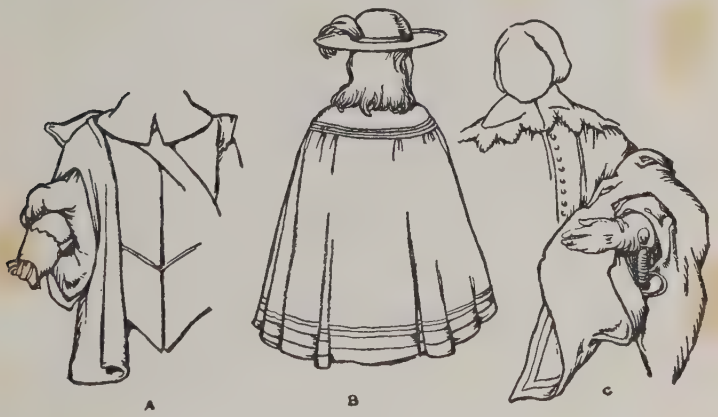


FIGURE 16

often thrown over one shoulder and arm (Fig. 16 C) and wrapped around the waist.

FOOT-GEAR.—It is a matter of conjecture as to whether or not the fine, handsome, swagger boots of the Cavaliers were worn to the same extent by the colonists as they were worn in England and France, where a gentleman was seldom seen without them. The hot climate of Virginia and the South, together with the rural life on the plantations, must have made boots rather unpopular for everyday wear. There is no

doubt, however, they did wear them for traveling, hunting, riding, and for dress occasions.

Tall, square-toed, close-fitting boots with a shaped spur leather protecting the instep were much in favor (Fig. 17 A). They were pulled up over the knees and thighs for riding and hunting; or, turned down below the knees (Fig. 17 C), for walking or dress wear. The tops became more and more enlarged, so that a little

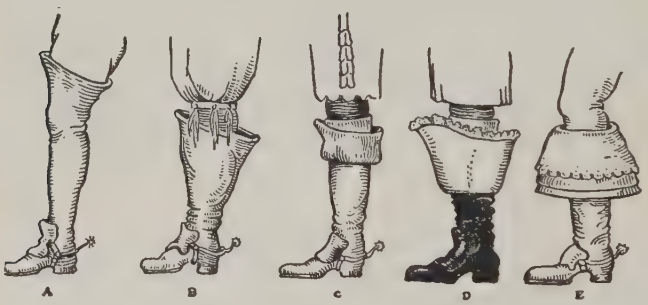


FIGURE 17

before the middle of the century they were exceedingly exaggerated, being pulled down below the knees in a wide cup (Fig. 17 D). The part of the boot over the ankle and calf was very much creased and wrinkled. This gave an opportunity to show the boot-hose with its decorated top, or the rich lining of silk or lace that was sometimes used instead (Fig. 17 D E).

Contemporary with the boots just described was a short boot of stiffer leather that reached to about the knee. The swelling shape from the ankle to the knee gave it the name of bucket-top boot (Fig. 17 B).

Until the middle of the century, there was very little change in the shape of the shoes. Heels were low, and the shoes were cut out at the sides and fastened over the instep with "side latches." The general tendency was for a rounded or square toe. A large bow, rosette, or "shoe rose" was placed on the shoe over the instep

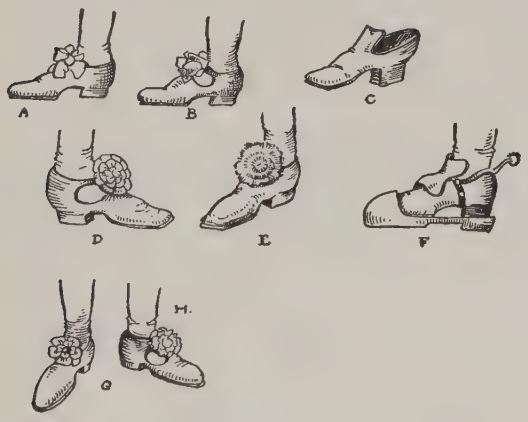


FIGURE 18

(Fig. 18 D E G). About the middle of the century the shoe had a tendency to lengthen, and to end in a square toe (Fig. 18 C D E etc.). It could be open at the side and fastened with ankle-straps (Fig. 18 B D G); or it could be closed (Fig. 18 A C E). The shoe roses were gradually replaced by bow-knots of ribbon or by "ribbon ties" (Fig. 18 A B). Heels gradually became higher, and the heels and soles were often of red leather. As a protection for out-of-door wear, clogs of wood (Fig. 18 F) were worn over the shoes.

Head-gear.—Broad-brimmed hats of the sombrero type, that had been introduced about 1620 to 1625, were universally worn until they were supplanted by hats of the Restoration period in 1660 (Fig. 9 b, 10 b, 19 a), when the brim might be caught up on one side, the crown being only moderately high. For those who could afford it, ostrich plumes decorated the crown and hung over the brim. Others wore them with only a band around the crown. A very fashionable hat worn

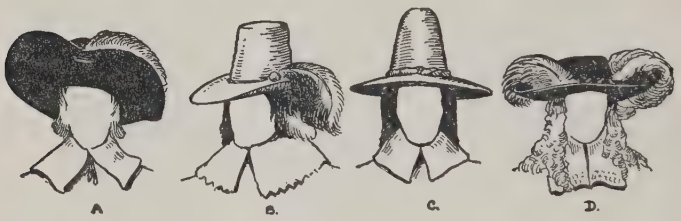


Figure 19

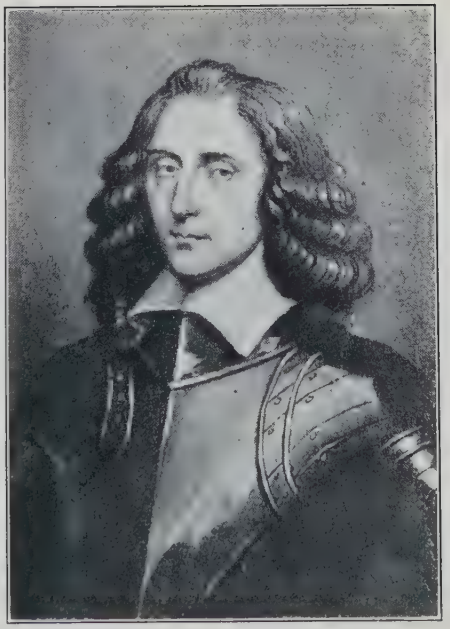
at the same time as the sombrero is seen in Figure 19 b. The crown is high and tapering to a flat top, the brim only moderately wide. Plumes could be worn on the sides, or dispensed with in favor of a ribbon band.

Another form of less pretentious fashion is shown in Figure 19 c. Its chief characteristics are its breadth of brim and the tall crown of the sugar-loaf form, usually worn with a band or occasionally with a feather. It follows the same general type worn by the Puritans in New England. A late form of a low-crown hat with a wide brim, richly ornamented with plumes, is seen in Figure 19 d.

Linen.—The linen shirt was worn under the doub-

A

SIR EDMUND ANDROS (1637–1713/14)
"Painted by Charles Noel Flagg of Hartford, from a colored photograph of a miniature in possession of his collateral descendants in



B

WILLIAM GOFFE (1610(?)–1679)

let. As the doublet lost its rigidity and tight fit, the shirt was made more and more full in the body and the sleeves. The extreme exaggeration in the ample cut of the linen shirt came with the short and abbreviated doublet of Charles II's time, when the shirt was seen in the opening in the front as well as all the way round the waist from under the doublet, the folds of the shirt often falling over the waist-band of the breeches (Fig. 13 A B). The sleeves of the shirt were also full at this time, their fullness exposed from under the short elbow sleeves of the doublet. They were brought in tight at the wrists with ribbons, and often tied around the elbow in the same manner (Fig. 13 A B C). At the wrist deep ruffles of lawn or lace were worn.

Gradually the stiff, upstanding ruff gave way to the falling ruffs (Plate V A B. Fig. 9 A) and the small wired-out whisk (Fig. 1 A). In the portrait of an ancestor of the Bowdoin family, signed in 1647, one still finds the upstanding ruff, though he must have been one of the last to wear it (Plate IV A). Among the younger men the whisk and falling ruff soon gave place to the falling band, which as early as 1627 was worn on the Continent, as may be seen in many Dutch portraits of about this date. John Evelyn, writing in his diary in 1633, mentions a recently struck medal of Charles I, and says: "The King wears a falling band, a new mode which has succeeded the cumbersome ruff." Evidently one may judge from this the falling band, plain or edged with lace, was a new fashion in England in 1633.

Among the Puritans of New England the falling bands were plainer and supposedly not so large; but in

the South, for dress occasions, the Cavaliers followed the fashions of England. So one sees, then, the falling bands of fine linen or lace, or linen edged with lace, spreading well over the shoulders (Fig. 9 B. Fig. 10 B. Fig. 11 B). These falling collars were often called simply a "fall." Plain linen bands without the lace edge were more usual for everyday wear (Plates VI, VIII, IX. Fig. 10 A. Fig. 11 A. Fig. 12); but they might be edged or scalloped. From a little after 1640 to the middle of the century the band often decreased in size and was worn without the pointed lace edging (Fig. 19 A C). It further narrowed about 1660 into a very deep and oblong collar of lace or lawn, falling over the breast (Fig 13 A. Fig. 19 D. Fig. 20 A), continuing in this form until it was almost hidden by the great curled wigs. It finally went out of fashion at the end of the third quarter of the seventeenth century.

The cravat, or neck-cloth, was worn contemporaneously with the falling band, and in time was to supplant it. It was introduced into England from France somewhere around 1664. Shortly after this date one finds it mentioned in American invoices. It consisted of short spreading ends, usually caught with a bow of ribbons at the throat (Plate XIII A); or, with full rich ends of lace falling in broad folds over the chest (Plates XII, XIII B).

Until 1660 to 1665 the cuffs were turned back over the sleeves of the doublet. From then on they were composed of full ruffles of linen or lace.

HAIR, BEARDS.—At the beginning of this period, 1620, a beard in some form was worn by most men

(Fig. 9 A B etc.). During the time of Charles I the pointed chin beard and mustache, both carefully trimmed, were universal (Fig. 11 B). After 1660 only the small mustache was worn. With the advent of the great periwigs, however, the mustache and beard went out of fashion and every man was smooth shaven.

The Cavaliers wore their hair long, and the tendency was toward ever-lengthening locks (Fig. 10 B. Fig. 11 B), until finally they fell down the back and over the shoulders. The hair was either parted in the middle and brushed back on either side of the forehead, or banged. This was also the day of the love-lock, and some men wore a lock of hair on either side of the face and tied at the end with a bow of ribbon (Fig. 13 A). The period of natural hair was soon to end, and great wigs worn over the shaven head were to be the fashion.

The wig as an important and indispensable part of a fashionable man's attire appeared first in France during the reign of Louis XIV. At that time it was known as the periwig, and was richly curled and formal in its make-up. It is now generally accepted that it came into fashion about the year 1660. In spite of the absurdity of this extraordinary fashion, where a man shaved off his own hair in order to wear a wig of false hair that was heavy, expensive, and difficult to keep in order, the style spread rapidly over western Europe, soon finding its way into England during the opening years of the Restoration. From England it almost immediately came into fashion in the colonies.

The periwig, however, was not introduced into England by royal favor. In fact, Charles II seems to have

been opposed to it at first, and it is not until 1663, according to Mr. Pepys, that the king, following the lead of his courtiers, conformed to the new style. In the State Library at Hartford, Connecticut, is a painting by Reilly of Charles II, whose head is adorned by a periwig of black hair falling over his shoulders in luxuriant curls. Many courtiers, as well as loyal followers in the colonies, conformed to the fashion set by the king. As Miss Earle points out, "We have very

FIGURE 20

good specimens of this curly black wig in many American portraits" (Plates XII B, XIII A, XIV B).

When the great periwigs came into fashion, hair powder with which to sprinkle them came more and more into general use. The powder used was costly, increased the untidiness of wig-wearing, and added to the weight of these monstrous periwigs. Often as "much as two pounds was used at a time." The early form of the periwig (Fig. 20 A) was introduced a little after 1660. At this time it was parted in the center and brushed out smoothly over the sides of the head, and hung over the shoulders in a free, naturalistic wave or

A

B

By kind permission of Thomas Benedict Clarke and the Pennsylvania Museum

STEPHANUS VAN CORTLANDT (1643–1700)
By Evert Duyckinck. Painted in 1693

ROBERT JOHNSON (1677–1735)
By Henrietta Johnston. Painted 1718

PLATE XVI

in curls. By 1670 the periwig had assumed large proportions (Plate XII B. Fig. 20 B) and had become more and more artificial in appearance. It consisted of an arrangement of formal curls that hung down over the breast and back.

In the colonies the demand for wigs steadily increased, and by 1715 wig-wearing was general among all classes. In a subsequent chapter the periwig, as it appeared then and later, will be discussed at length.

Accessories.—Canes of convenient walking length, and at times provided with an ornamental head (Plates XI B, XII A), or with simply a loop of ribbons or a tassel cord, were carried pretty generally. Gloves were also extensively worn, and one finds them in many portraits of the time (Plate XI A). The gloves of these early years were of various materials, "cordevant, buckskin, shammy, sattin, Irish lamb and glazed lamb's wool." The more expensive gloves were richly made, being provided with deep gauntlet cuffs, that were often embroidered as well as edged with a fringe. After the middle of the century, however, the gauntlet cuffs, while long, were not so stiffened; nor do they appear to have been so richly embroidered.

Snuff-boxes of metal, horn, wood, or porcelain were carried. Often they were handsomely decorated.

The sword was the long, rapier-like blade, with an ornamental hilt, and was worn suspended either from a belt provided with hangers that went around the waist (Fig. 6 F G), or from a baldric, or shoulder-strap, that hung from the left side. From about 1630 on, the shoulder-strap took the place of the earlier

fashion more and more. The dagger was no longer carried for general wear. The shoulder-strap might also be a simple strap of leather buckled over the front of the body (Fig. 12); or more on the order of the baldric or wide shoulder band richly decorated (Plate XII).

Handkerchiefs of rich materials, silk or linen edged with lace or with a gold edging, were carried as part of the effect of the costume. Cotton handkerchiefs were soon to come in for everyday use.

IV. CAVALIER COSTUME: WOMEN

1620–1675

Women's costume followed the same general tendency one saw exhibited in men's attire. After 1625, costume gradually lost much of its severe and exaggerated outline and tended increasingly toward an easier-fitting and more beautiful style. Of course, the old styles lasted for some time, especially among the older women, those of simple tastes, and those who could not afford the latest fashions from England.

The farthingale, after being much reduced in size, was the first of the old fashions to be discarded. Bit by bit the bodice lost its stiff-boned, long-waisted character. Finally, the ruff, the whisk, and the wired-out lace collar gave way to the lace or linen collar that fell over the shoulders.

The years from 1620 to 1630 were transitional years and therefore difficult ones in the study of costume. Unfortunately, those years possess little con-

temporary American portraiture of women from which to draw a knowledge of their dress; but, as everything tends to show the close relation existing in fashion between England and the colonies, many deductions may be made from material from English sources. As the planters were mainly Cavaliers, they had none of the severe outlook upon life and dress so often associated with New England. As a matter of fact, theirs was a natural flair for rich costume, with the result that very little effort, if any, was directed toward its curtailment either in richness or extravagance. Indeed, many letters and diaries have been preserved, leaving no doubt that women gave a great deal of thought and attention to dress. They soon gave up the pioneer simplicity that went with the early years of home and plantation building, and followed the latest modes from London.

In Charleston and Annapolis, as well as in all the large towns, there was great rivalry in rich and fashionable dressing. The plantations, on the contrary, were widely separated and often isolated, the women, in consequence, not seeing each other for days at a time. Thus rivalry in dress was not an everyday occurrence but reserved for special occasions. The parish church, the center of social life at that time, seems to have afforded this opportunity. Here the planters and their wives came from great distances to attend the Sunday services; here was the moment so eagerly awaited—to display their costumes. Fairs, tobacco markets, the racetrack, weddings, and holiday celebrations were other occasions for parading their most fashionable attires.

The incongruity of rich clothes imported from England to be worn in the crude surroundings of the early settlements seemed in no way to have bothered them. By the survival of lists sent to London, ordering the latest fashions, it is known that their gowns were as handsomely made and from as fine materials as those worn by the women of England.

Bodice.—The low-cut, long-waisted bodice finished with tabs around the waist, the *décolletage* edged with

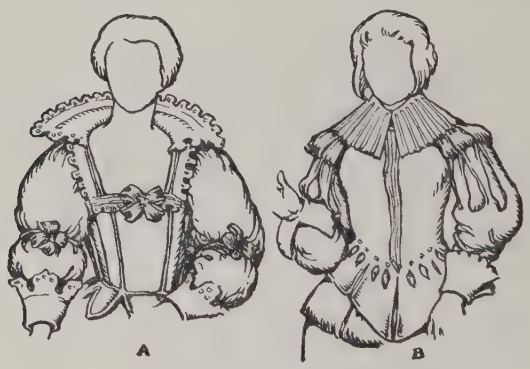


Figure 21

an upstanding collar of linen or lace, was to persist, especially among the wives of the rich planters, during the years 1620–1630 (Fig. 21 A). The sleeves were full and tied around the elbow with a ribbon knot. Linen cuffs, plain or edged with lace, were turned back from the wrists. Occasionally, one finds a more unusual bodice shaped very much like the doublet of the men. It was worn until about 1635 (Fig. 21 B). It

PLATE XVII — *By kind permission of the Gallery of the Fine Arts, Yale University*

ELIHU YALE

By Enoch Zeeman. Painted 1717

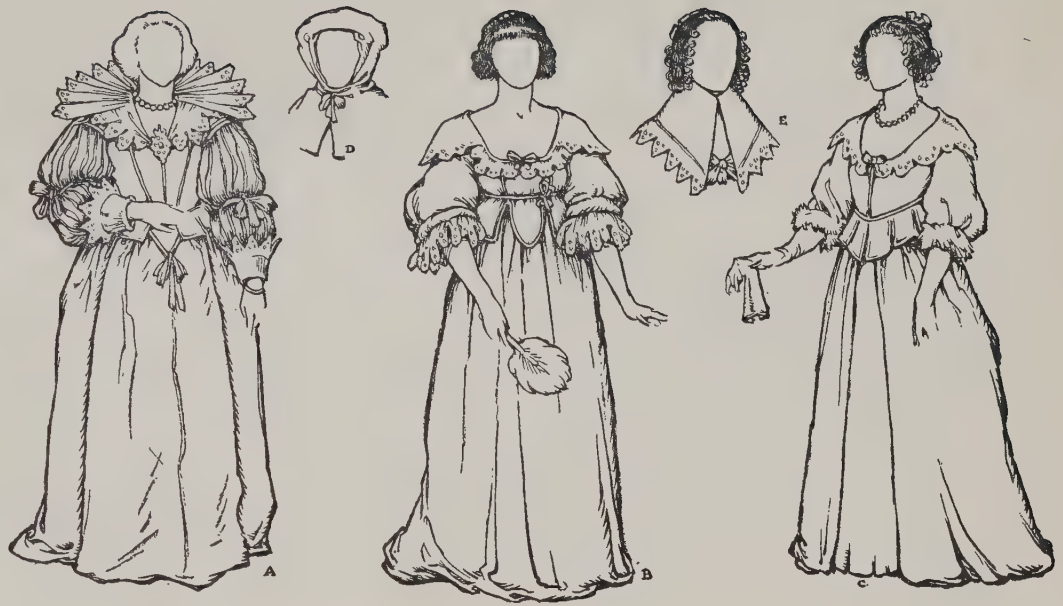


FIGURE 22

was cut to a sloping waist-line, coming to a point in front. The tabs forming the skirt of the bodice were similar to those worn by the men. Shoulder wings were attached to the armholes, and from under these wings appeared the full paned sleeves coming to a close band at the wrist. Over the wrist, turned-back linen cuffs were worn. At the neck was the falling ruff.

By 1630 or 1635 the stiff-boned bodice gave way to a low-neck, high-waisted bodice of much easier fit. From the high waist-line depended small tabs, forming the skirt. They extended around the waist and centered in a round tab in front (Fig. 22 B). The *décolletage* was either square, round, or V-shaped. The sleeves might be very full and paned and made into a puff above and below the elbow by a narrow ribbon tied with a bow or a rosette (Fig. 22 A). A later fashion, *circa* 1635, was a full puffed sleeve of about elbow length that was no longer paned but edged with lace (Fig. 22 B). Around the waist a ribbon sash was secured by a bow-knot tied at the front or a little to one side.

By 1645 a bodice that fitted fairly close, either ending in a straight waist-line or descending to a point in front, again became popular (Fig. 22 C). It followed the fashion by being high-waisted. Pending from the waist-line, one finds the tabs. The sleeves, while full, were not nearly so voluminous as they were originally, and did not extend much below the elbow.

After 1660 one seldom finds the tabs forming the short skirt to the bodice. The bodice again assumed its long-waisted, tightly laced form (Fig. 23 A), usually

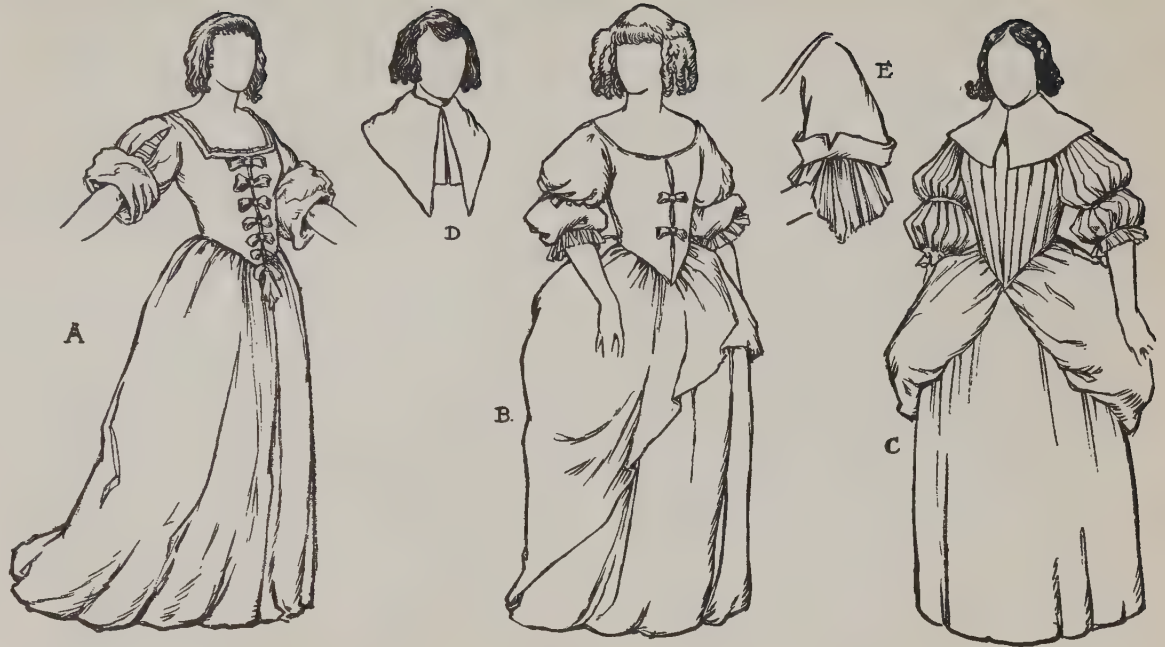


FIGURE 23

descending to quite a long point in the front and rounded at the back (Fig. 23 B). The neck and shoulders were left bare (Fig. 22 A B). Above the bodice the line of the *décolletage* was softened by an edging of the fine chemise (Fig. 23 A B). The bodice might be laced down the back, the slight opening in the front being then brought together with jeweled clasps or with bow-knots of ribbon (Fig. 23 B). If the opening was down the front of the bodice, it was brought together and decorated down the front with ribbon knots (Fig. 23 A). The sleeves were usually of elbow length, quite full, and looped or gathered with a clasp on the upper side. Descending to a little below the elbow was the full sleeve of the fine linen chemise (Fig. 23 E). The sleeve could also be slashed along the outer seam and brought together with lacings (Fig. 23 A). One finds sleeves of very full dimensions made into two puffs by tying ribbons around the arm above the elbow and half-way between the elbow and the shoulder (Fig. 23 C).

Skirt.—Gradually the farthingale disappeared and in its place there came an extremely full skirt, hanging quite free from under the bodice and reaching to the ground (Fig. 22 A B). Until the middle of the century, many skirts were cut in an inverted V in the front, disclosing the petticoat (Fig. 22 C). After the middle of the century the skirt was more frequently worn closed. Instead of being worn in the previous free loose manner, it was gathered into small pleats over the hips where it met the waist-line of the bodice (Fig. 23 A B). It seemed to have been quite common to gather up the

PLATE XVIII *Courtesy of Elizabethan Club, Yale University*

ELIHU YALE AND YOUTH

skirt on the left side, allowing it to hang diagonally across the body in a studied, careless manner (Fig. 23 B). The inverted V-shaped skirt never seemed to have gone altogether out of favor, and it was often met with looped back over the hips, where it was fastened in the back, thus revealing the petticoat all the way round (Fig. 23 C).

GOWN.—As has been seen, the farthingale was the first garment of the old style to go. This left a skirt cut very full to accommodate the farthingale. To make use of this excess material, the skirt was fashioned into a full, loose gown fitting over the shoulders. It was open all the way down the front and confined at the waist with a ribbon. The opening in front exposed the long pointed stomacher and the straight tabs of the boned bodice, as well as the decorated skirt of a contrasting color (Fig. 22 A).

LINEN.—The standing, wired-out lace collar (Fig. 21 A. Fig. 22 A), the ruff (Fig. 7 B), and the falling ruff (Fig. 21 B) remained in fashion for some time, but gradually went out of favor in the forties. Their place was taken by a lace collar or falling band, worn over the shoulders (Fig. 22 B C E). It was often edged with rich point lace or decorated with embroidery. The falling band and lace collar were worn in many different ways. Where it was fastened to the edge of the *décolletage*, it fell over the shoulders (Fig. 22 B C). Where it encircled the neck, it fell over the shoulders and hung down in front in two points over the breast (Fig. 22 E). In the portrait of Mrs. John Freke (Plate XLIII) it completely hid the upper part of the dress.

A small shawl, or kerchief, commonly made of linen or some soft material, was often worn around the neck and over the shoulders. It was folded in such a manner that the two ends fell over the breast in front (Fig. 23 D).

After the middle of the century the more fashionably dressed ladies bared their shoulders more and more, edging the horizontal *décolletage* with small collars of lace. After 1665 to 1670 the lace and linen collars gradually went out of style, and one finds the low-cut bodice merely edged with the softening line of the fine chemise (Fig. 23 A B).

When sleeves were long, the cuffs of linen to match the collar were turned back from the wrist in a funnel shape (Fig. 21 A B), but as the sleeves shortened to elbow length the funnel-shaped cuffs were discarded. Descending from under the sleeve of the bodice was the full sleeve of the fine linen chemise (Fig. 22 B C. Fig. 23 A, etc.).

HAIR.—Early in the period the hair was brought back from the front and sides of the head and dressed in a high roll (Fig. 21 A. Fig. 22 A). Soon, however, the new manner of dressing the hair was introduced from London, the hair being pulled back tight over the top of the head and confined in a small coil at the back. At the sides the hair was bunched out in curls that framed the face. A bang or fringe of straight hair hung down over the forehead (Fig. 22 B C). This close fringe gave way to a fashion of small separate curls edging the brow and the cheeks and gradually merging into the cluster of curls hanging on either side of

the face (Fig. 23 A). Pearls or ribbons could be intertwined and dressed into the coil at the back of the head. In time the curls along the brow were dispensed with and the hair was brushed straight back (Fig. 22 E). At the same time one finds the curls at the side carried out in clusters supported by wires (Fig. 23 B).

Head-coverings.—For out-of-door wear, hoods and veils were generally worn. Unless the weather was severe, however, the women were apt to go bareheaded. The most usual hood seems to have been in the form of a scarf or kerchief folded and placed over the head and tied loosely under the chin (Plates XLIII, XLIV. Fig. 22 D). Hoods were more often worn, and were of greater variety in New England and the central colonies, where the winters were more severe, than in the southern colonies.

Cloaks.—Cloaks that hung over the shoulders and enveloped the figure were much worn. They were usually lined with fur or some warm material, and probably cut on the same general lines as the "cloak of raccoon skins" given to Captain John Smith by King Powhatan.

Shoes and Hose.—Shoes, hidden by the skirts, followed the same general shape as those worn by the men. They could be protected by clogs and pattens for out-of-door wear. The hose were woven, and varied considerably in color, the most popular being "white, scarlet or black."

Accessories.—There was a great deal of gay and elaborate finery accompanying the costume of the time. Jewelry in the form of clasps, pins, pearl ear-rings,

and necklaces was much used. Strings of pearls and beads were wound in the hair. With the shortening of the sleeves, long gloves reaching to the elbow came into fashion (Fig. 22 c). These were the fashionable gloves, and were made to fit tight to the arms. These were, as a rule, imported. Gloves of local manufacture were made of yarn, buckskin, or sheepskin. Those who could not afford gloves wore mittens.

The wearing of "gum patches" on the face was exceedingly fashionable. The ladies in the South, particularly, indulged in this form of adornment.

Muffs were generally carried and often suspended from a ribbon worn around the neck.

Fans made of plumes and feathers, with richly ornamented handles, were either carried in the hand or attached to a girdle at the waist.

Aprons worn over the skirt, and made of "muslin, silk, serge and blue duffel," formed part of the dress costume as well as for everyday wear.

PLATE XIX

By kind permission College of William and Mary

MR. MANN PAGE, II

Painted by Charles Bridges

CHAPTER III

THE NEW ENGLAND BACKGROUND

1620–1675

The New England settlers offer an interesting contrast to the planter colonizers of Virginia. In the main, they were of the same English stock and came from the same walks of life; they were of the same order of intelligence, the same degree of culture. The differences were mostly religious, with corresponding divergences in their outlook upon life and in their manner of living. These differences, together with those of climate and geography, were sufficient to create in the northern colonies a civilization less agricultural and aristocratic; more compact, versatile, and democratic.

The first company to build a settlement at Plymouth in 1620 were Separatists, or Pilgrims, who, in conflict with the Established Church of England, and outside its pale, had suffered persecution and hardships. One congregation had fled to Holland; had lived there for twelve years practising their austere faith. Of the one hundred and two who finally made the voyage in the *Mayflower* to Plymouth, thirty-five were of this body, the remainder being from London. They were poor folk, too poor to outfit an expedition to America without assistance, and so were forced to mortgage themselves

to a group of London merchants for a term of seven years. For the most part they were artisans and laborers, small farmers and petty tradesmen. With but few exceptions they were people of little education. Nevertheless, they were well equipped in many ways to cope with the strange conditions of their new home. They were zealous, full of fierce energy, determined, unyielding. They were accustomed to grinding toil and rough living. There was nothing either in their religion or in their experience to lead them to expect ease and untroubled ways in this world. In fact, their interpretation of the Bible encouraged them to welcome trials and hardships as tests of their faith. They were a unit in thought and purpose, which fact alone gave them tremendous advantage over the oddly assorted Jamestown company. They set themselves to the task of building, clearing, and planting, casting no backward glances at the England they had left. Grimly they went about the business of working out their destiny in the New World, seeing in all things the hand of God, doubting not that they were carrying out His will.

The question of clothes formed no inconsiderable part of the thought of these Pilgrim Fathers. Their revolt against all excess and worldly show found one of its principal expressions in dress. Their garments conformed in general shape to the prevailing fashions, but they stripped or attempted to strip them of all ornament. Braid, ribbons, laces, large decorated buttons, all things suggesting the loose-living gallants of the royal court, were inveighed against. They eschewed

handsome materials—silks, satins, velvets—in favor of broadcloths and fustian.

These Pilgrims had emigrated at a time when European fashions were rapidly changing. It was a period of transition which witnessed the lengthening and loosening of the doublet, the passing of trunk hose and the ruff, the advent of the falling collar (page 102 *et seq.*). Pinched for money as they were, it is extremely probable many of them landed on these shores dressed in the doublet and trunk hose of the older fashion. Moreover, during the first ten years of the settlement, communication with England was so rare that little in the way of new fashions would have been brought to Plymouth. Then, too, the early years were so filled with struggle and adversity that makeshift garments of hide and fur must have been worn much of the time. The thirty-five Pilgrims from Holland, however, undoubtedly showed some hint of the broadness and greater fullness of the Dutch manner in their costume.

The costume of the women (page 107 *et seq.*) showed the same tendency as the men's—a modification of the stiff and rigid lines of the previous generation, and a greater looseness and freedom in the treatment of the skirt and bodice. Heavy cloaks and hoods were an important part of the dress of the Pilgrim women, but gloves seem to have been considered an extravagance. These first Pilgrims came with an ample supply of simple clothing, much better equipped in that respect than in the matter of tools and household gear.

They suffered during the first year of the settlement, enduring the ice and snow and biting cold of the New

England winter. Weakened by lack of food, disease and exposure carried off almost half their number. They built a log meeting-house on a hill, a stout, fortresslike structure, loopholed and barricaded, with gun platforms on the roof, using it at once as a place of prayer and a haven of refuge in time of danger. Around it clustered their little cabins and their sparse fields of Indian maize. The dark forest pressed closely on three sides. A Dutch traveler of the time gives this picture of their life:

> Upon the hill they have a large square house, with a flat roof made of thick-sawn planks, stayed with oak beams, upon the top of which they have six cannons, which shoot iron balls of four or five pounds, and command the surrounding country. The lower part they use for a church, where they preach on Sundays and the usual holidays. They assemble by beat of drum, each with his musket or firelock, in front of the captain's door; they have their cloaks on, and place themselves in order, three abreast, and are led by a sergeant without beat of drum. Behind comes the governor in a long robe; beside him on the right hand comes the preacher with his cloak on, and on the left hand the captain with his side arms and cloak on, and a small cane in his hand; and so they march in good order, and each sets his arms down near him.

During the early years the lonely settlement was always like a small armed camp. It hugged the shore; the unexplored wilderness hemmed it in. There were on that great continent no white faces closer than the Dutch trading-posts on the Hudson; no English neighbors nearer than the planters' cabins on the James. Yet it grew and prospered in a modest way.

New colonists came out, the settlement spread beyond the confines of the town into the surrounding country. They opened a profitable trade with the Indians, and took to fishing. This Pilgrim colony never became a factor greatly influencing the development of New England. It lacked material wealth and intellectual attainments. Its numbers were too few. In 1630 they totaled but two hundred and fifty souls. Near the end of the century they numbered but nine thousand. Soon they were absorbed into the larger Massachusetts Bay Colony and lost their identity. Nevertheless, their humble and simple history is of tremendous importance in the development of America; for they were the first Englishmen to maintain without aid and by their own exertions a community in the unfriendly North American wilderness.

Ten years after the Pilgrim landing a much more important migration began to spread along the shores of the bay to the north. It was the beginning of the real Puritan exodus, that was to overshadow quickly the Plymouth settlements and to shape the destiny of New England. The new-comers were akin to the Plymouth people in many ways. They possessed the same tendencies toward more primitive forms of worship; toward simplicity of life and plainness of dress. They looked upon the business of living as a grim and difficult thing, giving scant welcome to anything that might soften or brighten it. They were not, as were the Pilgrims, or Separatists, in open revolt against the Church of England, but reformers inside its ranks, would-be purifiers from within. Yet these religious

distinctions between the two groups, however large they may have loomed in England or in the earliest years of the colony, quickly lost their importance under the new conditions in America. In practice, at least, the theological distinction between Puritan and Pilgrim, Nonconformist and Separatist, gradually ceased to exist.

A distinction of greater importance was the difference in class and culture. There was a great deal of wealth among the new colonists; they were largely of the middle class, landowners, merchants, scholars, yeomen, and tenant farmers. Some were landed gentry, preachers, and professional men; a high proportion men of intellect and learning.

They came well equipped for colonizing. They brought with them stores of all kinds for their own use and for trade with the Indians, tools and farming implements, live stock and seed. The wealthier ones came with their servants, laborers, and household gear, and prepared to set up their establishments much as they had been in the Old World. It was their hope to transfer their estates almost bodily to Massachusetts, to erect in New England a social order corresponding to the one they had left behind.

Their wealth and rank were reflected in their costume. There was less difference between their dress and that of the average Englishman than is generally supposed. It was by no means always possible to tell the Puritan by his attire. In the main, it was sober and restrained; but so were the garments of many people of entirely different religious persuasions. His preachers

inveighed against the extravagance of fashion. He was exhorted to abandon the use of lavish and costly materials, his church publishing lists of prohibited articles and his state enacting sumptuary laws that attempted to regulate his attire in accordance with his station and wealth. He was surrounded by prohibitions and restrictions at every step of his daily life, more than it was humanly possible to observe. Certain it is his vanity and his natural resentment against unnatural restraint combined to bring him into constant conflict with the zealous minority who attempted to fasten upon New England society their own narrow and rigid convictions.

The sermons of the time are filled with tirades and invectives against those who "arrayed themselves in fine raiment." The court records are crowded with the names of persons summoned for violation of the laws restricting dress. The great numbers of people fined or reprimanded, and the great difficulty and often the impossibility of enforcing the sumptuary orders, lead one to believe that the law was usually observed in the breach.

It is a fact of supreme importance that only about one fifth of the population of early Massachusetts were members of the Puritan church, and since church membership was the qualification for suffrage, a small minority controlled the destinies of the colony. Even this comparatively small number of church members and voters were swayed and dominated by their preachers and leaders, a group of vigorous-minded and aggressive zealots. It is from the ranks of these zealots

that the characteristics have been taken which go to make up the picture of the stern Puritan as he is usually conceived (Plate VII).

This iron-lipped, solemn figure, sturdy, dignified, unbending, in stiff broad-brimmed hat, black or sullen-colored doublet and breeches, coarse stockings, and heavy square-toed shoes, is a perfectly truthful one. He was a type that appeared early on the New England scene, and who played an important rôle in its history. Unfortunately for strict historical accuracy, he has come to stand for the typical Puritan. Perhaps it is because his extreme restraint offers such an obvious contrast to the ringleted and beribboned courtier; possibly because of the opportunity he offers for caricature. Whatever the reason, he has been so much pictured and written about that the word Puritan immediately conjures up his image in our minds—and it is difficult to remember his numbers were few; that he was an extreme and eccentric type; that even in the New England of the seventeenth century his was not a common figure.

The great bulk of the Puritan population reflected quite accurately in their dress their social rank and their wealth. It was a system ingrained in the European scheme of things, and the new-comers of 1630, or at least the leaders and those of upper rank, did their utmost to continue it in America. The dress of these early colonists was not essentially different from that of the Virginians described in the preceding chapter. It is not essentially different from English costume of the same time. In fact, Puritan costume always followed

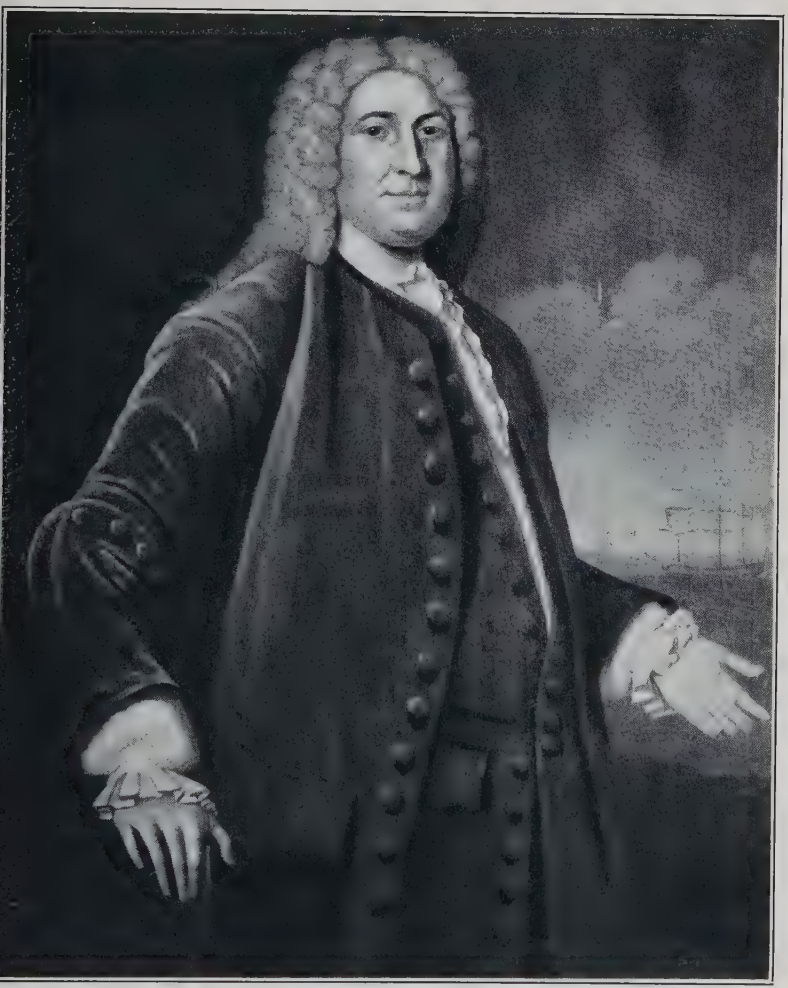


PLATE XX

Courtesy of Massachusetts Historical Society

PETER FANEUIL (1700–1742)
Painted by John Smibert

prevailing modes, rejecting the most exaggerated and fantastic forms, eliminating excrescences and obtruding decoration; avoiding the blatant and the conspicuous. In short, it was and is exactly the kind of restraint exercised by sober-minded persons of any time or place.

The arrivals of 1630 came well stocked with clothes from England, and their garments were cut in the fashion that had been slowly evolving since the latter years of the reign of James I, and which was now well established (page 111 *et seq.*). The trunk hose were gone, replaced by full knee-length breeches, the ruff still lingered among the older generation; the doublet was looser and longer. The wide sombrero hat was still worn, and was to be popular until almost the middle of the century. The foot-gear was still the square-toed shoes tied with ribbons, or boots of varying lengths and widths, often turned down in a bell-like flap.

The women's costume (page 126 *et seq.*) bore many points of resemblance to the men's. The bodices were becoming lower in the neck and higher at the waist, with short tabs like the doublet. Generally the changes were in the direction of less rigidity, the sleeves looser and often gathered in a single puff. The farthingale had vanished, and the skirt was gathered full at the hips and allowed to hang freely to the ground. The broad, falling collar had replaced the whisk and ruff, except among the more conservative of the older generation. Veils and hoods were worn outdoors, or a broad-brimmed hat similar to that worn by the men.

The migration of the thirties was the beginning of

a stream of Puritan colonizers that flowed almost without interruption for a hundred years. The Bay Colony grew rapidly in numbers and wealth, and spread over its borders into the surrounding territory of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Maine. With this growth came a change in the economic life of the colony. The wealthy Puritans had hoped to establish a colony of farms, of large landed estates, owned by themselves; and small freeholds to be distributed among the yeoman class. There were, however, certain factors outside their calculations. The geography and climate of New England conspired against a purely agricultural colony. The winters were long and relentless. It was difficult to wrest a living from the stony and grudging soil. The rivers were short and difficult to navigate, and did not invite penetration into the interior, as did the rivers in the South. So the early settlements grew up close to the coast. Here, with many bays and harbors offering suitable shelter, with great fishing banks close at hand, and with seemingly inexhaustible forest to furnish ship timber, it is not surprising the early New Englander was drawn to the sea, to fishing and to trade.

He was drawn not only to the sea but into a variety of pursuits promising gain and development. He built rude sawmills at the fall line of navigable streams, to fashion timbers for the shipyards, planks and beams for the trim new houses that were replacing the old log dwellings. Higher up the rivers, or on the banks of their swift tributaries, he erected mills for grinding maize and wheat, tanneries, and, later, mills for fulling

the homespun cloth. He evaporated sea-water for salt, and dug in the swamps and lowlands for bog iron. These activities may seem slight and unimportant in the light of present-day industrial development; but they were the first faint beginnings of New England industry and trade, the growth of which was to affect so tremendously the future life and history of these colonies.

These small industries, and the first tentative shipping ventures, were, through the middle years of the century, already helping to shape the social and political character of New England. They were developing a practical-minded, adaptable, self-reliant type, the Yankee, a man who could turn his hand to a half-score of trades, and who could solve with competence the succession of new problems life in the early colonies was constantly presenting. Just as geography and climate made impractical the development of large plantations with their attendant landed aristocracy, encouraging instead the small holding and yeoman farmer, so the diversification of trade and industry, while it permitted the growth of a small wealthy merchant class, depended for its success upon a large body of independent, skilled artisans, and of intelligent, capable middle-class clerks and tradesmen. African slaves were available in almost unlimited numbers, but they lacked the enterprise, intelligence, and skill to perform the manifold tasks of the New England farmer, sailor, or craftsman. Indentured white servants were in demand, but in a land so lavish in opportunities they almost always availed themselves of the expira-

tion of their terms to step into the class of the freemen. All these things worked toward the formation of a large body of free labor. Since this body was healthy, intelligent, and free from poverty, it gradually won the balance of power, holding in check the usurpations of the clergy and the wealthy.

It made for a much more democratic society than that in process of formation in the South; yet there were fairly definite distinctions in social rank, and it was by no means true that all freemen were political equals. The aristocracy of this seventeenth-century society was a mixed one, consisting of the clergy, a few scholars and professional men, some gentlemen of leisure and wealth, and a rapidly growing group of rich merchants. Below them were the small freeholding farmers, the skilled artisans, and small tradesmen. Next came the laborers and journeymen, usually unfranchised; then the white redemptionists, and at the bottom a few negro slaves. Except for the slaves, however, the barriers between the classes were far from impassable, and early New England society never became as set and clearly defined as did that of the South.

Then, too, any aristocratic tendencies in the social fabric were checked by the New England system of land-ownership. Each community was virtually self-governing, the land passing into the hands of the town corporation and from it into the possession of the individuals composing the community. Usually these individual allotments were small, and always there were certain lands held for the common use.

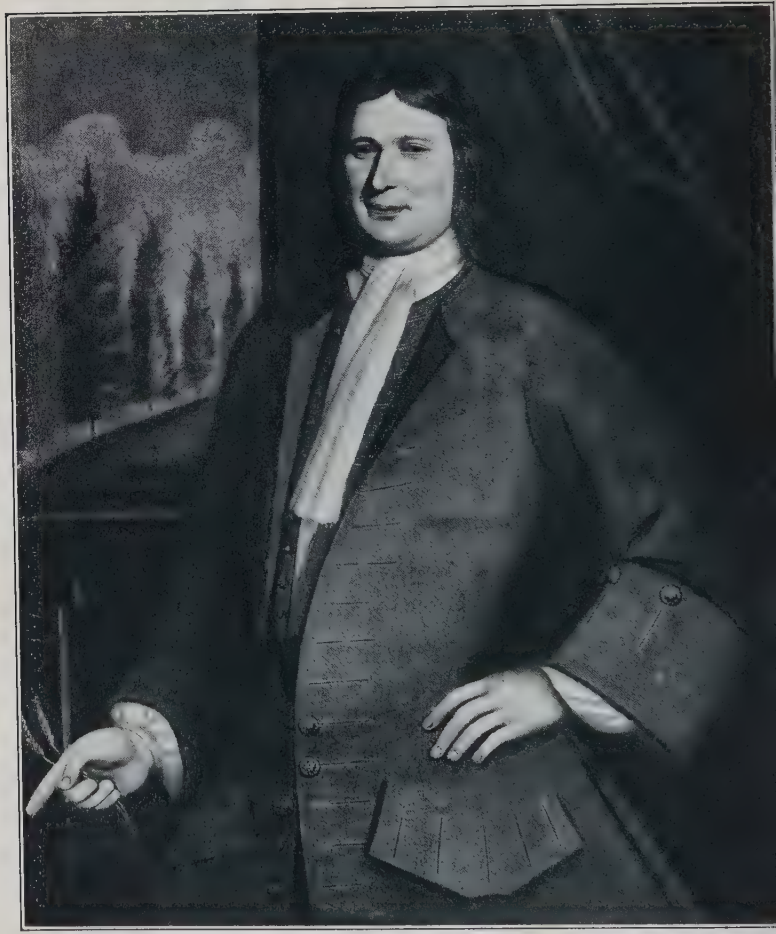


PLATE XXI

By kind permission of Thomas Benedict Clarke and th
Pennsylvania Museum

JOHANNES VAN VECHTEN (1676–1742)
By Peter Vanderlyn. Painted 1719

By the last quarter of the century New England was dotted with hundreds of these self-governing and self-supporting communities. The village clustered around the steepled and clapboarded church, which faced the trim village green. About the green were spaced in ample grounds the homes of the more prosperous citizens; a tavern with its stable-yard and sheds and its painted sign; a square log or boarded school-house, and perhaps the platform and framework of the town pillory. Upon either side of the highroad leading away from the green were other frame houses, cottages, and huts, shaded by some of the forest trees left standing, or by young English elms or willows brought as seedlings from the home country. Even in 1675 New England villages had an air of quiet spaciousness and dignity.

The log homes of frontier days were fast disappearing. Lumber was of course abundant, and sawmills having become fairly numerous, the new homes were built of sawn planks or clapboards. Most of them were of the cottage type, of one story and an attic, with a broad sweeping roof covering the kitchen and sheds in the rear, and often linking the house to the barn. The roofs were frequently thatched, particularly in communities close to the sea, where the salt marshes afforded a liberal supply of suitable reeds. The more pretentious houses were of two stories, with the second story projecting over the first, and with turned pendant ornaments at the corners, these New England builders copying as best they could the houses of England as they remembered them. Behind were the kitch-

en gardens, the orchards, the cleared fields bounded by low stone walls, the meadows and grazing land, and the strips of virgin forest, whose giant pines were fringed with a lighter growth of birch and dogwood.

Within, the houses were dark, oiled paper being more common than glass; while in the evenings hand-made candles and the flickering log fire in the fireplace gave but a dim yellow light. Earthen floors were still common, though the better houses had floors of heavy sawn planks, often carefully sanded. The walls were of boards, or of clay mixed with chopped straw, and against these rough, pleasant textures was placed the limited furniture of the home—the chests, cupboards, and heavy chairs. Some of these pieces were brought from England. In fact, many of the wealthier immigrants had come accompanied by all of their household goods; and their furniture, of course, was in the rectangular, heavily underbraced style current in the England of the first James and Charles. Most of New England's somewhat scanty supply of furniture, however, was home-made. Her joiners and cabinet-makers were not without skill and taste, and they succeeded in copying the imported pieces in a rougher and ruder form that had often a striking character and flavor of its own. There were few gracious lines in these early pieces, but they reflected the temperament of seventeenth-century New England: they were as stiff and sturdy as the race who used them.

In addition to the imported furniture and the work of the local cabinet-makers were the things fashioned by the farmer himself. He made stools, benches, and

rude tables. Since metal was scarce, most of the articles for household use were contrived from materials at hand. Plows, shovels, rakes, and almost all farm implements were of wood. Churns, trays, firkins, tubs, and troughs were made of the same material. Pewter was not common; there was no glassware, and pottery was rare. Cups and bowls were made of gourds; shells were used for spoons or dippers; and the trenchers, tankards, flagons, and basins were wooden. During the long winter evenings, the men of the household whittled and wrought, exercising considerable ingenuity in the working of native materials into shapes of use, and often of beauty.

As in the case of the furniture, the stores of clothing brought over by the new arrivals and that imported from the London merchants were insufficient to supply the needs of the colony and had to be supplemented by native products. Almost from the first, homespun materials were made. Some of the first fields to be cleared of forests and rocks were put out in flax; and by the latter half of the century almost every farm had its blue-flowered flax patch. The gathering and preparation of the flax were difficult and tedious. Before it was ready to be spun into thread, over twenty different operations were necessary, all of them requiring considerable skill and experience. The greatest dexterity was needed in the spinning of the yarn into thread on the small flax-wheel. Finally came the bleaching, washing, and weaving. The home-woven linen of the time was a sturdy, closely woven material, so resistive to hard wear that linen covers, testers, and even

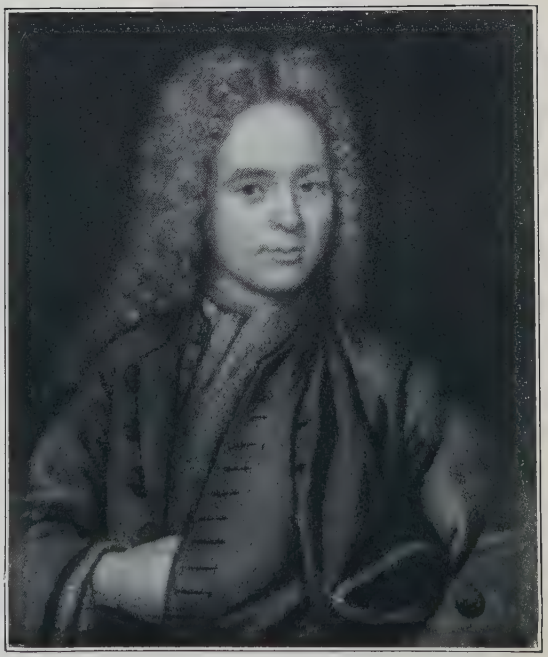
shirts and bands were willed as heirlooms down through several generations.

Woolen materials began to be made almost as early as linen. In 1643 a contemporary writer says: "They are making linens, fustians, dimities and look immediately to woolens from their own sheep." Sheep were brought over in many of the early boats, and in 1644 there were estimated to be three thousand in the colony. Their numbers grew rapidly after that date, sheep-raising being encouraged by special legislation. The spinning and weaving of the wool were stimulated by the giving of prizes and bounties and by the formation of classes and schools. Perhaps these artificial means were not required, for the great necessity for warm materials and the growing prosperity of the colony were enough to insure the development of the industry. So rapidly did it grow, indeed, that by 1675 New England was actually exporting wool to France and Spain.

The homespuns were at first heavy and coarse, and of uneven texture; but a generation of weaving so developed the skill and perfected the process that soon much of the broadcloth manufactured by the women in their homes was of such excellent quality as to bear comparison with what had been brought from England.

For dyes they used the flowers, roots, and barks of the country-side and other materials at hand. Very few dyes were imported, except indigo, which began to be used in quantity during the late years of the century. Brown was easily obtained from the bark of

A



B

By kind permission of Thomas B. Clarke and the Pennsylvania Muscum

SIR PETER WARREN (1703–1752)
By John Watson. Painted 1731

JAMES DE LANCEY (1703–1760)
By Gerardus Duyckinck. Painted in 1728

the red oak, hickory, and maple, or from walnut hulls; for a very deep shade, from the low-spreading alder. Yellowroot, barberry root, the petals of St. John's wort, and sassafras gave various shades of yellow. Crimson was obtained by boiling pokeberries with alum; for violets or purples, pokeberries, elderberries, sumach berries, and the petals of the purple iris were used. Indigo, of course, was the standard blue. Mixed with goldenrod blossoms, it gave a fine green. Fustic and copperas were also used for the yellows. This fine array of colors dispels the idea that the New England costume was altogether a drab and sullen affair. Most of these colors, if not brilliant or gay, were at least warm and cheerful; and when one remembers that on the bills of lading scarlet cloaks are constantly mentioned, the Puritan emerges as a more colorful figure than he is usually supposed to be.

He moved through the late seventeenth century still earnest, combative, and determined, bending his great reserve of energy to clearing, sowing, building, and manufacturing; still struggling to discipline his body in order to save his soul; still ruthless in his dual pursuit of the things of the material world and after those of the spirit. The excitements and troubles of the Commonwealth and of the Restoration in England scarcely moved him. The changes in fashion they brought he accepted in a moderate way. The extremes the Restoration brought in he ignored. Thus the development of his costume from the days of the first landing was an orderly progression without eccentric outward divergences.

Early American Costume

I. COSTUME OF THE PILGRIMS: MEN

1620–1630

There must have been a marked distinction in the dress of the Pilgrims from that of the Puritans. Not only did they come from a different class in society, but they came to the New World in 1620, just ten years before the Puritan exodus from England, and at a time when English costume was in the last phase of the Spanish bombast style. Further, the Pilgrims, with the exception of their leaders, were simple folk, whose ideas went toward plainness and restraint in costume. Doubtless, at the time of their sailing for America, new innovations in costume were beginning to be seen in the dress of the upper circles; but surely not in the clothes of those men and women who did not allow their thoughts to dwell upon worldly things, and who were so accustomed to hard work and simple living. As their wardrobe was pretty generally supplied to them by the company of London merchants to whom they had mortgaged themselves, it must have presented considerable conformity and similarity in appearance. As it was selected with a view to meeting the rigors of pioneer life, strength, durability, and stoutness were its chief characteristics.

Doublets.—The doublets followed along lines similar to those worn by the first settlers of Jamestown, Virginia. Though not quite so shaped, they were more easy-fitting (Fig. 24 A B). They were provided with a short skirt of tabs below a fairly long waist-line. The sleeves were moderately close, and were probably fas-

tened to the armholes of the doublets with points. Where the sleeve and doublet met, the joint was masked by a jutting piece of material called a wing.

FIGURE 24

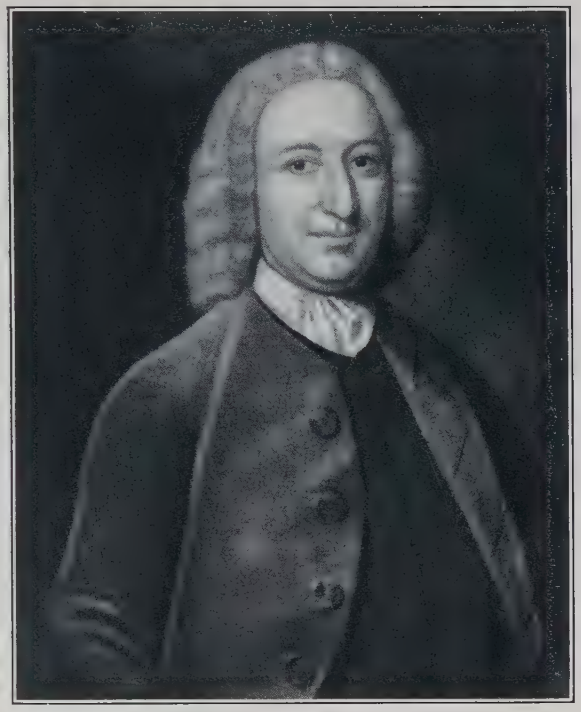
The doublet was buttoned down the front, and as a rule was dark and drab in color.

Among the Pilgrims, however, were a number of men who were not of the same deep religious turn of mind. These came to the New World not to escape religious persecution but seeking adventure. Such a one was Miles Standish (Fig. 25). Naturally the dress of these adventurers was not so restrained as that of the

Pilgrims. In fact, it was quite similar to the costume worn by the first settlers of Virginia. Their doublets were long-waisted, buttoned down the front (Fig. 26

FIGURE 25

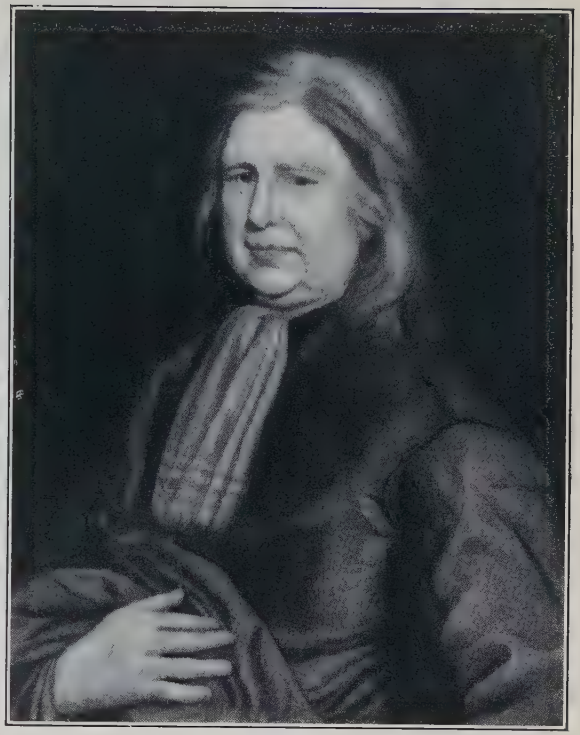
A C) or held by clasps (Fig. 26 B). A leather belt was buckled around the waist. Wings at the shoulders (Fig. 26 A B) or the crescent (Fig. 26 C) masked the juncture of the sleeve and doublet. The sleeves fitted quite close and were composed of a different material (Fig. 26 A). Sometimes the under-seam was left open



A

By kind permission of Thomas B. Clarke and the Pennsylvania Museum

ALEXANDER GARDEN (1685–1756)
By John Smibert. Painted in 1734



B

STEPHEN DE LANCEY (1663–1741)
By John Smibert. Painted 1734

for several inches from the wrist up. It could then be allowed to remain open, or could be brought together and fastened with buttons. The skirt of the doublet could either consist of tabs (Fig. 26 c) or be plain (Fig. 26 A B).

FIGURE 26

The Pilgrims were provided with leather jerkins which could either be worn separately or under the breastplate (Fig. 25). (For description of the leather jerkin see page 59.) Sword, bandolier of strong "neats' leather," powder flask, musket, burgonet, and boots completed the costume.

BREECHES.—The breeches of the Pilgrims were made of strong cloth, canvas, or leather and were generally of the knickerbocker type (Fig. 24 A). They were either buttoned or fastened by a small knotted band below the knee. Others preferred the full trunk hose so common in James I's reign (Fig. 24 B); while still other members of the community might have worn any of

the styles shown in Chapter II of the Virginia section.

Cloaks.—Great cloaks of three-quarter length (Fig. 24 A) or longer (Fig. 24 B), made out of some warm material and frequently lined with fur, protected them from the keen New England winters. Skins of animals, bartered from the Indians, were undoubtedly thrown over the shoulders to serve as mantles.

Linen.—A simple band tied with cords (Fig. 24 A. Fig. 26 A B), or a pleated ruff (Fig. 24 B. Fig. 26 C), was worn around the neck; while at the wrists were plain turned-back linen cuffs (Fig. 24 A. Fig. 26 B).

Head-gear.—The Pilgrims wore hats of the broad-brimmed type with high crowns, around which they placed a simple band (Fig. 24 A B). The adventurers, however, adorned their hats with plumes (Fig. 26 A B). For defense they wore burgonets (Fig. 6 C E) or morions (Fig. 6 B D).

Hair.—The hair was worn closely cropped to the head (Fig. 24 A or B) or slightly polled over the ears (Fig. 26 A).

Foot-gear.—An authority has said: "The Virginia planters stepped on the banks of the river James in boots; but the universal foot covering of the Pilgrims and Puritans was shoes." These shoes were of leather, heavy and sturdy, and of about ankle height. They were fastened over the instep with shoe-strings (Fig. 24 A). Heavy woolen stockings covered the feet and legs, and were fastened under the breeches just above the knee (Fig. 24 A). Boots, of course, were worn; if not so much by the Pilgrims, at least by the other members of the colony. They could be worn with the tops

turned down (Fig. 24 B) or they could be pulled high up over the knee and thigh.

ACCESSORIES.—Swords were worn on a belt around the waist (Fig. 24 B. Fig. 25); or were suspended from a baldric, which was worn over the right shoulder to support the sword and scabbard on the left side (Fig. 26 A). The bandolier, powder flask, and gun usually accompanied the men when they went to work in the fields or ventured far from the settlement. The older men carried canes. Heavy, serviceable gloves of rather crude make were worn for comfort, but do not seem to have been carried merely for style, as they were in the South.

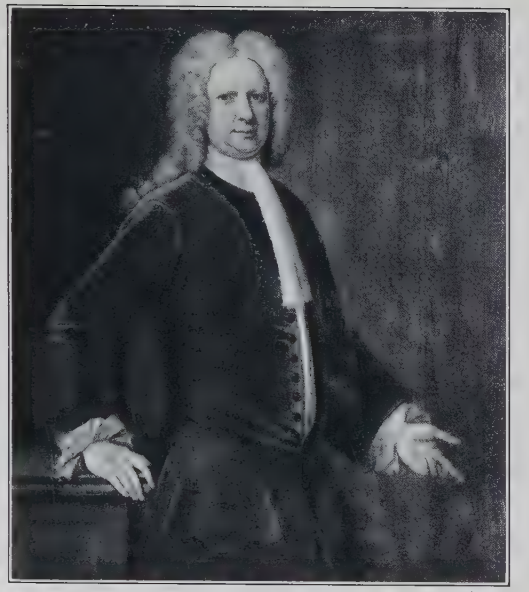
II. COSTUME OF THE PILGRIMS: WOMEN

1620–1630

The little band of one hundred and two Pilgrims, under the leadership of Elder Brewster, landed in Plymouth Harbor in the cold bleak winter weather of late November of the year 1620. Of this group, by far the greater number were men. Even though the season was late, and winter fast closing in, several weeks were lost before a suitable place for landing and home-building could be found. The men went ashore, where they built the crude log huts and cabins, their future homes. The women and children, meanwhile, remained aboard the *Mayflower*. Only a short time after the landing of the Pilgrims in New England, another scene was to be enacted far to the South. In this connection it is interesting to note that in the

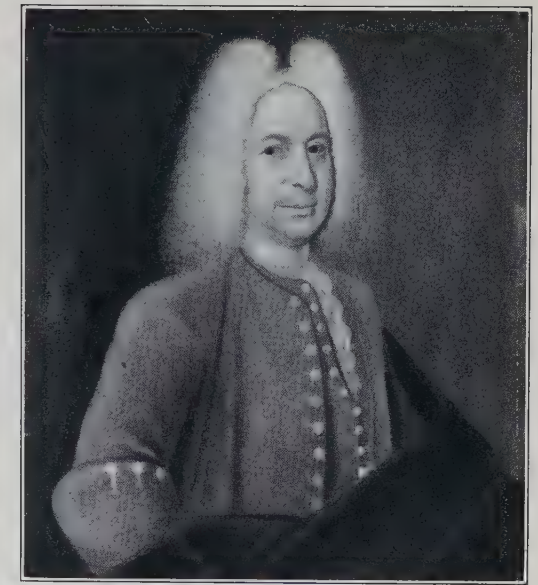
year 1621 the Virginia Company of London sent over from England a number "of respectable young women" to Jamestown, Virginia, to be the wives of the planters. Both the women who came to Virginia looking for husbands, and those accompanying the Pilgrim Fathers as wives and daughters, emanated from about the same class in English society, though they were not of the same religious belief. Thus, in a large sense, one realizes there must have been considerable similarity in the cut and general style of their clothes; though the garments of the Pilgrim women were far plainer. Probably, too, the Pilgrim women who had spent twelve years or so in Holland leaned a little more toward Dutch styles. Yet here again it is of interest to learn that the short-waisted bodice and full skirts of Holland were much worn by Englishwomen at that time. Falling bands and ruffs were worn both by the Pilgrim and the Virginia women, as well as turn-back cuffs at the wrists. The Pilgrim women, therefore, were dressed more in the style of their Virginia sisters than in the fashion of the Puritan women, with whom they are so often confused.

Body Garments.—The general fashion in dress among the Pilgrim women seems to have tended toward the short Dutch waist (Fig. 27 A); though a dress with a long waist-line, the bodice tapering to a point in front, was not uncommon (Fig. 27 B). The bodice was made to fit, but does not seem to have been much boned or artificially stiffened. There was a close-fitting sleeve (Fig. 27 A); there was also a sleeve tend-



A *By kind permission of Mrs. Luke Vincent Lockwood and the Metropolitan Museum of Art*

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR WILLIAM TAILER
(1675–1731)
By John Smibert. Painted 1730



B *By kind permission of Thomas B. Clarke and the Pennsylvania Museum*

JONATHAN BELCHER (1681–1757)
By Nathaniel Emmons. Painted 1738

ing to become fuller from the elbow to where it met the bodice at the shoulder (Fig. 27 B). There seems to be no indication that the farthingale was worn; but skirts were made quite full. The skirt may or may not

FIGURE 27

have been divided in the front to show an under-petticoat.

LINEN.—Ruffs of fairly large dimensions encircled the neck (Fig. 27 A). In place of the ruff, a broad falling collar of linen could have been worn (Fig. 27 B). A shawl was sometimes worn over the white linen collar (Fig. 27 B), or simply the shawl alone could be folded around the neck and over the shoulders. Plain linen cuffs were turned back from the wrists (Fig. 27 A B).

HAIR.—The hair, which was dressed quite plainly, was brushed back from the forehead and brought into a twisted knot at the back of the head. The hair was usually covered, indoors or out, with a hood (Fig. 27 B) or coif (Fig. 27 C).

CLOAKS.—Often it is impossible to determine whether a garment should be classed as a hood or as a cloak, so many cloaks being made with head-coverings attached. These could, for better protection, be pulled up over the head. These long hoods, or cloaks, "covering the face, head and all the body," were excellent for a cold, wintry climate such as New England. They were usually lined either with a bright colored material or with fur. Being both warm and comfortable, it made them exceedingly popular, and it can be readily understood how each Pilgrim woman provided herself with a garment of this type. Small hoods covering the head, tied with a bow-knot under the chin, and not attached to the cloak, were the most favored of all head-coverings among the Pilgrim women (Fig. 27 B). Cloaks of various lengths without the hood attached were extremely popular and quite common. They were usually worn with the small unattached hood. These cloaks, so conducive to warmth and comfort, never seem to have lost their popularity until the nineteenth century.

HEAD-GEAR.—There is very little to lead one to believe that tall crowned woolen hats with straight brims were worn by the Pilgrim women; though they were extensively worn in England at the period when the *Mayflower* sailed for America.

FOOT-GEAR.—Shoes were seldom seen, being hidden

by the long, full skirts; but they probably resembled those worn by the men, shoes with blunt toes, laced over the instep, and provided with wooden heels.

Accessories.—The numerous small accessories, such as lace, handkerchiefs, feathered fans, masks, paint, powder, and patches, so associated with the costume of the women of the time, are noticeably absent. Small muffs and warm, heavy gloves, however, may have been used.

III. PURITAN AND PILGRIM COSTUME: MEN

1630–1675

There seems to be considerable misunderstanding as to the dress worn by the Puritans, both of men and women, during the early years of colonization in the New World. They are usually represented as dressed in garments of plain, if not severe, cut, stripped of all ribbons, laces, and such adornments, the color drab, the material coarse, until one has come to believe all Puritans were thus attired. This, however, is but one phase of Puritan dress—that worn by the religious extremists, who, after all, were not so numerous as is generally supposed. There is very little reason to believe that the majority of the Puritan men and women of New England, once they were established in the New World, dressed very differently from the Cavaliers and their wives in the South, the exception being those garments affected by climatic conditions.

During the early days in England, Puritan reformers preached at great length against extremes in dress, ad-

vocating simplicity of attire as one of the most important precepts of the Puritan church. By the time the Puritans came to America, in 1630, many of the more rigid reforms had disappeared. These laws concerning dress never seem to have been very permanent; nor were they ever strictly followed except by the most religious and zealous members of the Puritan faith. Indeed, a comparison of the list of clothes provided for the Puritans by the Massachusetts Bay Company, with the wearing apparel dealt out to the early Virginian settlers by the London Company, leads one to the conclusion that the former were better provided for than the latter, both in the quantity and quality of their garments. This is further supported by the fact that in going over the early portraits of the founders of America it is next to impossible, having only the costume as a guide, to separate Puritan from Cavalier, so similar were they in dress and general appearance. It seems, therefore, it was only against excess in dress, against the absurdities of the extremes in fashions, that the Puritans as a class reacted. It was this attitude toward dress that seems to have been their guide in the selection of their garments. It is not strange, then, that the rather foppish fashion of petticoat-breeches never made a great appeal to the Puritans. It may be that on occasions petticoat-breeches made their appearance in New England when worn by visitors from abroad or from Virginia; but as a part of Puritan costume they hardly existed.

It is not surprising, therefore, that as soon as the colonists had established themselves in the New World

PLATE XXV

By kind permission of the Bowdoin Museum of Fine Arts, Bowdoin College

WILLIAM BOWDOIN (1713–1773)
By Robert Feke. Painted 1748

and had emerged from the first years of toil and home-building, with prosperity crowning their efforts, one finds them turning their attention to dress. Liberty in the New World was taken by many as an opportunity to freely express their desire for fine clothes. Thus, from the beginning, one finds the colonists sending to England for the latest fashions in doublet and breeches, in bodice and skirt. It appears, however, that these importations of the latest modes did not meet with the approval of the critical New England magistrates. This caused the enactment of a series of sumptuary laws formulated with the intent to restrain the rapidly growing desire for expensive and fashionable attire. That the sumptuary laws were hardly successful, being continually violated, is known by the number of persons who were "presented" in court. Though they were reprimanded, and at times fined, love of fine clothes overcame fear of the court, until finally sumptuary laws became only a statute, and were rarely enforced. When, however, one reviews the vast number of sermons preached by the ministers of that day, one realizes they never ceased their tirades against the "overwhelming love of fashion" among the "lambs of their flock," though evidently to little purpose. In studying the portraits, and in reading contemporary accounts, one finds they "arrayed themselves in fine raiment" and "walked with outstretched necks and wanton eyes mincing as they go."

It may well be that the terms "plain" and "sad" colors have misled many into thinking the Puritans wore only black, gray, and dark brown; but, upon in-

vestigation, one finds these "sad colors" possessed great charm. Russets, browns, scarlets, stammel reds, Bristol reds, Kendal greens, Lincoln greens, watchet blues, purples, and oranges are the colors often referred to, besides many more whose terms are now obsolete, conveying little in the way of information in these later years.

Thus one finds the colonists did not make any decided change in their dress when they left England for the New World. What change was made seems to have taken place here in the everyday working costume, where heavier and warmer clothing was worn, stronger and stouter materials used. For Sundays, holidays, and best occasions, clothes of the finest materials and of the latest cut and fashion were brought forth. Dress was more or less of an indication of social and class distinction, as zealously guarded in the colonies as in the mother-country. It is not surprising, therefore, when one considers the varied callings of the colonists, and recalls the fact that only one fifth were elected as members of the church, why so little of extreme Puritan dress is to be found among the first settlers.

Doublets.—By 1630 the doublet as worn by the Cavalier and well-dressed Puritan had become an easy-fitting, comfortable garment, with a high waist-line, from which depended the long skirts descending to two points in the front, or cut straight all the way around. The waist-line was decorated with points, and the sleeves were full and open on the front seam, and masked at the shoulders with wings or shoulder puffs

(Plate IV A. Fig. 10 B). The doublet of the plainer-dressed Puritan followed the same general lines and cut as the garment described above, though the fashionable high waist-line was lowered, as one can see

FIGURE 28

by comparing Figure 28 A with Figure 10 B. One will also notice the absence of the vertical slashing of the body of the garment, as well as the bow-knots around the waist. At times the doublet, without an apparent waist-line, sloped away into a pointed front (Plate VII). Where the waist-line is retained, the skirts descend to about the hip or mid-thigh (Fig. 28 A). The

doublet might be either buttoned down the front to about the waist-line, where it remained unfastened from there down (Plate VII), or it might be brought together with laces, starting at the neck and ending at the waist (Fig. 28 A). The front seam of the sleeve was occasionally left open, but was provided with buttons and buttonholes with which it could be fastened. Also, the jutting wings at the shoulders were retained, masking the joint between sleeve and doublet (Fig. 28 A). Most likely doublets were made of a coarse, durable material, or even of leather "lined with oiled skin leather."

Previous to the revolution of 1649 in England, which resulted in the beheading of King Charles I, plain attire was very much on the minds of the Roundheads, those ardent followers of Oliver Cromwell who opposed so strenuously the Cavalier and Royalist faction. The term Roundhead seems to have come into existence about 1640, and represents a fanatical religious group who cut their hair short in contrast to the long locks worn by the Cavaliers, and stripped their garments of all decoration. In the main, it was a revolt of sober-minded people against the extravagances of the court life. Of this sect, however, few seem to have come to the colonies during the period of the Commonwealth in England, though many sought refuge here after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. It appears that among many of the Roundheads the extremes in plain dress were not carried as far as is generally supposed. Roundhead fashions were somewhat reflected in New England, and Figure 28 B will

PLATE XXVI

By kind permission Bowdoin Museum of Fine Arts, Bowdoin College

GENERAL SAMUEL WALDO

By Robert Feke. Painted 1748

convey a clear idea of this type. The doublet was cut straight, without much shaping at the waist, the lower portion being cut in long, straight tabs edged with buttons. It was also buttoned down the front. Sometimes the doublets were sleeveless, in which case a plain or striped sleeve of an under-jacket or a shirt would be seen. It may well be that these sleeves, of a different material from the doublet, were separate articles, fastened to the armholes of the doublet by means of points, above which would appear the jutting wings masking the joint. It is not necessary to again repeat in detail the development of the fashionable doublet worn at this time in New England, so similar is it to that worn in the South. We would refer the reader to Chapter II, Section III, page 54, where it has already been dealt with at length.

A garment affording such good protection from Indian arrows, and so serviceable for hard, everyday wear as the leather jerkin, must have been as popular in New England as it was in the South. It could be worn either separately or, as so often occurred, under the breastplate. For a fuller description, see Chapter II, Section III, page 59.

Breeches.—Breeches have been fully treated in Chapter II, Section III, page 61, and all the types described were worn by many of the Puritan men with the exception of the petticoat-breeches, which never seem to have been popular in New England. With the majority of the Puritans, and especially among the plainer-dressed members, we find knickerbockers, or knee-breeches, were the type most worn. From a tight

waist-band, they spread out fairly full over the hips, descending to below the knees, where they were confined by a band to which was usually affixed a bow-knot of ribbon (Fig. 28 A). They were fashioned from a serviceable material, even from canvas or leather. After 1640 one finds another style of breeches that became almost as popular as the knickerbockers. The new breeches were of a straight, cylindrical shape. Where they terminated at the knee they were decorated around the bottom of the leg opening with small tabs or loops. Along the outer sides were vertical stripes or bands, ending just above the knee in a cluster of loops (Fig. 28 B).

Stockings or Hose.—The stockings brought over by the Puritans were either tailored of cotton or woolen cloth, or were knitted. Later, when the spinning-wheel was found in every home, the tailored stockings must have given way to the heavy homespun stockings knitted from woolen yarn. They appear to have been quite varied, and gaily colored, mention being made of green, blue, yellow, brown, and gray stockings. Stirrup hose and turned-down stockings were not popular in New England.

Cloaks.—Warm heavy cloaks or capes of varying lengths, some reaching to about the hips (Fig. 28 A), others to the ankle (Fig. 28 B), were worn by both men and women, whether Cavalier, Pilgrim, or Puritan, from the first moment of landing in America until well into the early years of the nineteenth century. They were made on very full lines on what appears to have been a semicircular pattern often gathered to a band

that went around the neck. Generally the cloak was provided with a collar that could either be turned down or turned up around the neck (Plate VII). They were thrown over the shoulders and held in place by a

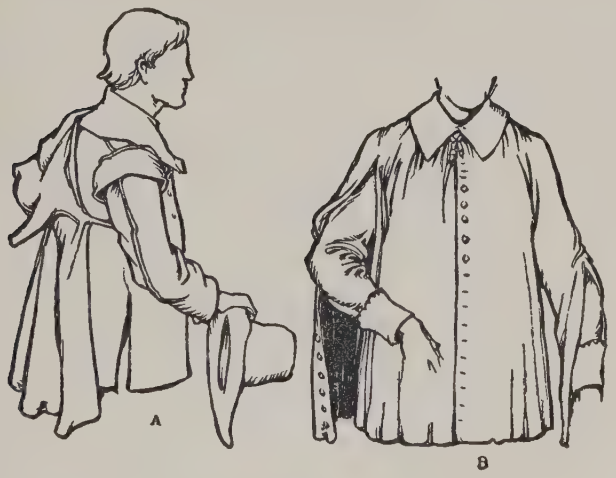


FIGURE 29

band or cord tied across the chest (Fig. 28 B). The cord holding the cloak in place could be worn either over or under the linen band. Many, especially among the younger men, wore the cape in the more rakish Cavalier fashion. This was accomplished by placing the garment over the left shoulder and from there allowing it to fall diagonally across the back. It was secured in the desired position by bringing one end of the cord, by which it was usually fastened, across the chest, under the right arm, and then tying it to the other cord attached to the cloak resting upon the left shoulder

(Fig. 29 A). Cloaks made of warm materials were lined with colorful stuffs, or even with fur.

Among other articles of clothing, the Puritans were furnished with a garment called a mandillion, a loose cloak or coat worn as an outside protection over the doublet. Fairholt, in speaking of this garment, says that the mandillion was "a loose coat worn upon the doublet, either buttoned or open. It had no sleeves, but two broad wings on the shoulders, and hanging sleeves at the back." Planché calls this garment "a loose jacket or jerkin," and quotes Stubbs as follows:

> Then as they be divers in colours, so they be divers in fashions; for some be made with collars and some without; some close to the body, some loose, which they call *mandilians*, covering the whole of the body down to the thighs, like bags or sacks that were drawn over them, hiding the dimensions and lineaments of the same.

A garment called a mandillion is found in the collection of costumes in the South Kensington Museum, London, and is evidently of the type and cut worn by the Puritans in New England, as shown in Figure 29 B. This garment was fastened down the front with hooks and eyes, or it could be closed with buttons. To give greater protection to the wearer in the cold New England winters, the mandillion was lined with cotton. The long sleeves are shown hanging at the back. Through the upper opening appears the sleeve of the doublet. The falling band was, as a rule, worn on the outside of the garment. The mandillion hung straight and fairly full from the shoulders, reaching to about

mid-thigh. The long hanging sleeves might be done away with, and in their place might be supplemented the "two broad wings on the shoulders."

Linen.—Under the doublet was worn the linen shirt, which, in summer time, when the doublet and vest were taken off, was exposed to view. It was cut full in the body and sleeves. With the Puritan one usually associates the falling band, or band, a stiff collar of linen or cambric, the style, shape, and size of which varied considerably with the individual. It has been stated that the smaller the band, "the greater the religious enthusiasm of the wearer." Bands, however, were not the only neckwear of the Puritans; for one finds considerable reference made in the old inventories to ruffs. While they do not appear in many of the paintings of the early settlers of New England, a splendid example is shown in the portrait of Governor John Winthrop (Plate IV B), whose ruff is starched and carefully laid in pleats. The ruff is beautifully edged with lace. An even later example, and probably of one of the last gentlemen to wear the pleated ruff, appears in the portrait of one of the Bowdoin ancestors, dated 1647 (Plate IV A), whose large ruff is made up in a triple box pleating.

The bands, falls, or falling bands in the form of linen collars of various shapes, turning down over the neck of the doublet, were worn by all Puritans. As a rule, they were very plain, plain almost to the point of severity (Plates VI, VII, VIII, IX. Fig. 28 A). The falling band sometimes was made up of several collars worn one over the other. Band strings, or cords, were

used to fasten the collar together in the front. At first they were not much in evidence (Plate VI), but gradually, after 1640, the strings were ornamented with tassels of silk, or with small tufts of ribbons (Plates VIII, IX A). About 1665 the cravat appears, it being caught in at the throat with a bow of ribbons (Plate XIII A). Later the ribbon was done away with and the ends of the cravat fell longer and more freely (Plates XII, XIII B). The severe New England magistrates would not tolerate the fashion of edging the bands with embroidery, or otherwise enriching them, but enacted sumptuary laws forbidding the "excess" in fashion. As previously mentioned, there were many in New England whose desire for fine and at times showy apparel could not be restricted by laws, and who followed the latest fashions, wearing lace collars and bands as described in Chapter II, Section III, page 69. As examples of this are the portraits of John Freke and Thomas Savage (Plate XI A B), wearing rich lace collars. From under the sleeves of the cassock, or coat, one sees the fine full sleeves of the linen shirt edged with ruffles at the wrist. The early Puritans are often represented without the turned-back cuffs at the wrists (Fig. 29 A); or, when they are shown, they are usually perfectly plain (Fig. 28 A B) or, as in the case of Governor Winthrop, are edged with lace to match the ruff or band (Plate IV B).

Foot-gear.—With the Puritans, shoes were much more worn than boots. In fact, one of the earliest sumptuary laws in New England was directed against men of moderate circumstances, forbidding them to appear

abroad in great boots. Each Puritan emigrant was provided with four pairs of shoes. These were cut with a dip at the ankle, rising to a high tongue in front, and tied over the instep with shoe-strings. They tapered to a square-toed ending and were provided with wooden heels (Fig. 28 A). When boots were worn by the New England settlers they were of the type shown in Figure 17 A B C and Figure 28 B.

Hair and Beards.—The real Puritans cut their hair short to the shape of their heads, in opposition to the long locks of the Cavaliers (Fig. 28 A. Fig. 29 A). Yet many of the New England colonists, after 1640, wore their hair fairly long, or to about the nape of the neck (Fig. 28 B. Plate IV A B). During the time of Charles I one finds the pointed chin beard and mustache were pretty general. The fashion of long hair falling to the shoulders persisted during the reign of Charles I, and lasted until the periwig became the fashion. (See Chapter II, Section III, page 71.) What appears to be the early form of the periwig is seen in the portrait of Mr. Freke (Plate XI A); while in the portrait of Sir George Downing (Plate XII B) one sees the great black periwig with curls split at the side, falling over the chest in front, and down the back. These were the great black periwigs following after the fashion set by Charles II.

Head-gear.—The hats were broad in the brim with a high crown, usually of felt. A band of ribbon encircled the crown, being held in place by a small buckle of silver (Fig. 28 A). This was the typical Puritan head-gear, though there were many who wore hats after

the Cavalier fashion, even to the point of decorating them with feathers and plumes as described in the Virginia chapter. Beaver hats, always an expensive head-covering, were fashionable for those who could afford them. Even as early as 1634, there was an attempt made to regulate by law the wearing of beaver hats, the privilege being extended only to men of considerable means. It is hardly necessary to mention that this ruling, like all sumptuary laws, was never very effective; and almost any one who could buy a beaver hat wore one. Besides the high-crowned black felt and beaver hats, one finds Monmouth caps. Fur caps and plain knitted hats, as well as hoods, were all worn upon occasions. There were also a number of men in the settlements who went about partly armed, and wearing jerkins or buff coats with breastplates or gorgets over them, who, instead of wearing hats, covered their heads with iron helmets or burgonets.

Accessories.—Walking canes (Plates XI B. XII A), gloves (Plate XI A), snuff-boxes, swords shoulder-straps, rich baldrics (Plate XII), etc., as described in Chapter II, Section III, page 73, were about the same in New England as in the South.

Armor.—Colonel William Goffe (Plate XV B), described as a severe Puritan, sought refuge in New England in 1660. He was a follower of Cromwell and one of the signers of the death-warrant of Charles I. Upon the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, Goffe was forced to flee from England and seek safety in the colonies. His portrait shows him wearing a breastplate. Over this, and protecting the neck, was a gor-

PLATE XXVII *Kind permission of Thomas B. Clarke and the Pennsylvania Museum*

CAPTAIN ARCHIBALD KENNEDY (1718–1794)
By John Wollaston. Painted about 1752

get. At the shoulders one finds pauldrons, and on the upper part of the arms the brassarts. Sir Edward Andros, born in London in 1637, who came to America in 1666, is painted similarly armed (Plate XV A). For a further description of armor, see Chapter II, Section 1, page 43. As part of the military equipment of the settlers in America, one finds in the "List of Apparel" furnished to the New England colonists, partisans, halberts, muskets, swords, corselets, pikes, and half-pikes.

The early Puritan governors usually wore over their doublets a great gown that hung quite full from the shoulders and was not shaped to the figure. It was fastened with buttons down the front (Fig. 30 A). There were openings at the sides through which the arms were thrust. This sometimes formed a short sleeve reaching half-way to the elbow. This type of sleeve was decorated on the outside with bow-knots. From these openings appeared the sleeve of the doublet, the upper seam slashed, exposing the sleeve of the linen shirt. The linen cuff was turned back from the wrist. Appearing on the outside of the gown was the linen band. A coif, or small cap, was worn on the head, covering the ears and descending to about the nape of the neck. Over this again was worn the high-crowned hat with a broad, sombrerolike brim.

The everyday working dress of a smith or artisan is shown in Figure 30 B. He has thrown off his doublet and is wearing a shirt with sleeves rolled above the elbows. A "waistcoat of green cotton, bound with red tape," as mentioned in the records of the Massachu-

setts Bay Company. This artisan also wore knee-breeches, coarse woolen stockings, leather leggings, and stout leather shoes. An "Ells shear Linen Handker-

FIGURE 30

chief" is knotted around his neck. Over all was worn a leather apron, roughly shaped out of a hide. On his head he wore the knitted Monmouth cap.

IV. PURITAN AND PILGRIM COSTUME: WOMEN

1630–1675

Women's fashions did not change so rapidly or so often in the seventeenth century, either in England or

America, as they did later in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While new styles were introduced from time to time, it did not always follow that the older styles were altogether discarded. As a matter of fact, the garments in these early years of the settlement of our country were made out of "honestly woven" material, so that they endured for years, and were "worn as long as it [the material] lasted, frequently doing service through three generations." There are likewise other factors to be taken into consideration; for one must remember that fashions were not handed around and circulated by the use of fashion books, as they are to-day.

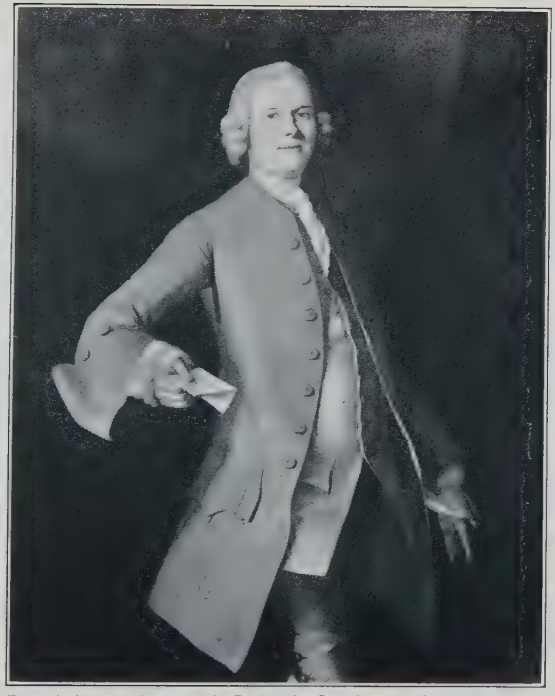
It is even doubtful whether at this early date the "fashion babies," or dolls dressed in the latest styles, had yet found their way into the shops of the mantuamakers in Boston, Salem, or Plymouth, though, as will be seen later, this happened quite early in the history of the colonies. Probably the most direct method of keeping in touch with the latest styles abroad was for those who could afford to do so to send to England, having their garments brought back on the first ship sailing westward. With what eager anticipation must these imported garments have been awaited! It may well be that the proud and happy possessor of these new importations, whether dress, bodice, hood, or cloak, allowed her neighbors to profit by using them as a model. Moreover, it appears that while the shops in all the important centers carried a large stock of substantial as well as rich and costly stuffs, they had no ready-made clothing. Ready-made clothing was not

to be had until the middle of the eighteenth century for men, and not until somewhat later for women.

When one reviews the complicated conditions affecting costume during those years, it appears that in spite of sumptuary laws, fines, sermons, and pamphlets directed toward that age-old effort to control undue extravagance in dress, the New England women revealed their love of fine clothes by their defiance of the laws and of the magistrates. As soon as their position in the New World afforded the opportunity, they arrayed themselves in silk dresses, tiffany fur-lined hoods, and by the wearing of lace and ribbons.

In the early days, however, costume, at least for general and everyday occasions, in New England, seems to have been quite restrained. This was probably even more apparent in Plymouth than in Boston and Salem.

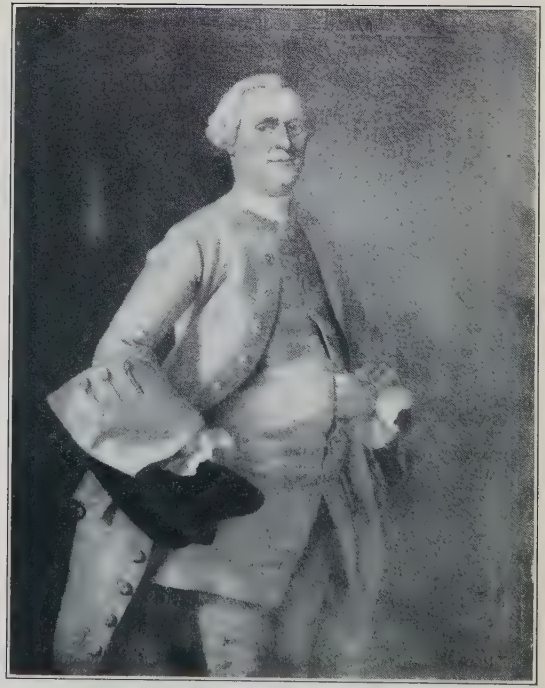
Bodice and Skirt.—The gown, from 1630 to 1640, was made out of a good serviceable cloth, the bodice shaped to the figure. Below the waist-line there would be a series of small tabs. The skirt was cut long and full, and on occasions was turned under and looped up toward the back, showing the underskirt, or petticoat (Fig. 31 A), or the skirt could hang perfectly straight (Fig 31 B). By 1645 the bodice often came to a point in front (Fig. 32 A) and probably was rounded in the back. It was worn over a full-gathered skirt. The sleeves might be of equal fullness throughout their length, terminating half-way between the elbow and the wrist, where a large linen cuff was turned back over



By kind permission of Richard C. Greenleaf and the Metropolitan Museum of Art A

HON. WILLIAM GREENLEAF (1725–1803)

By Joseph Blackburn. Painted 1757



B *By kind permission of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts*

COL. JONATHAN WARNER (1726–1814)

By Joseph Blackburn. Painted 1761

the sleeve. The bodice occasionally had a V-shaped opening in front, filled in with a contrasting material, above which the edging of the linen chemisette was seen.

The development of the bodice and skirt as worn by the more fashionably dressed New England women

FIGURE 31

was the same as that already described in Chapter II, Section IV, page 76, which treats of the women of the South.

LINEN.—Broad collars of linen were turned down around the neck of the gown. They were sometimes

plain (Fig. 33 A) or the edge was delicately scalloped (Fig. 32 A), or, at times, edged with lace (Fig. 32 B). The bands were sometimes worn over a low cut bodice (Fig. 32 A). For out-of-door wear a kerchief was folded

FIGURE 32

and placed around the neck over the linen collar, the two ends being allowed to hang down in front, the opening held together by a bow or bows of ribbon (Fig. 31 A. Fig. 33 B). The falling band was sometimes made up of two or more collars, one worn over the other (Fig. 32 B). At the wrist were turned-back linen

cuffs matching the falling bands. During the thirties they were quite plain; but from then on they were apt to be provided with a more decorated edge. Aprons of white holland, trimmed with lace, or aprons of white or of various colors, were brought over by the

FIGURE 33

first Pilgrim and Puritan women from England. They were extensively worn, not only as a protection to the gown but also as a decorative part of the costume. By the middle of the eighteenth century, beautifully made aprons were an indispensable part of my lady's wardrobe.

HEAD-GEAR.—Coifs, hoods, and high-crowned hats, similar to those worn by the men, were the head-coverings of those days. The coif (Fig. 31 A), a tight-fitting head-dress, or cap, was often worn under the hat. The

hoods could be attached to the cloak or worn separately. Throughout the colonies the hood was the head-covering most universally worn by women in all stations of society. As they were becoming, it is only natural that the women made them up as attractively as possible, using silks, especially tiffany, a thin gauzelike silk, and lining them often with fur. So becoming were these lovely hoods, that the magistrates were quite wrought up against them, and at a very early date one finds these men enacting laws restricting the use of silk and proscribing certain gay colors. The simplest hood, if it could ever be called such, was made out of an oblong strip of material thrown over the head, the ends twisted, and brought forward and tied under the chin (Fig. 33 A. Plates XLIII, XLIV). While it seems the Pilgrim women came to this country, their heads protected in hoods, the Puritan dames possessed not only hoods but the tall, steeple-crowned hats with the straight, wide brims as well (Fig. 31 A. Fig. 32 B). As a rule, these woolen hats, when worn by the women, were usually placed over a small coif, or cap (Fig. 32 B).

Cloaks.—Cloaks and capes of heavy cloth or fur were worn in the colonies from the very first settlement, and retained their popularity well into the eighteenth century. These cloaks worn by the Puritans did not differ from those already described as worn by the Pilgrim women in Chapter III, Section II, page 110. Besides the cloaks, there were narrow coverings of stuffs placed around the neck known as tippets. Some were made of silk and gauze and were worn simply

PLATE XXIX *Courtesy of the Rhode Island School of Design*

PORTRAIT OF THEODORE ATKINSON, JR. (1736–1769)
By Joseph Blackburn. Painted 1760

for adornment. The winter tippet was made of fur, which gave a warm protection to the neck and shoulders. Muffs were generally carried (Fig. 31 A. 32 B). They were made either of cloth or fur, or of cloth edged with fur. If a fur tippet was worn, the muff was usually made to match.

Masks.—Masks were worn as a protection against the wind and cold at a very early date, not only in New England but generally throughout the colonies. They were made of black velvet or of white or green silk. They were either held up against the face by the hand, or held in position by fasteners passing over the ears. A common method was to fit them with a mouthpiece, consisting of a cord with glass buttons on the ends, the buttons being held between the teeth, thus securing it in position.

There are not many portraits of women of these early days, and one turns with great interest to those still existent. The portrait of Penelope, the wife of Governor Winslow, is exceedingly interesting (Plate XLII). It hangs in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, Massachusetts, and shows the horizontal *décolletage* with a suggestion of the linen chemise fringing the opening. One notes the cluster of curls at the side of the head, fashionable about the sixties.

There is a group of portraits dating between the years 1670 and 1675 that are of the greatest interest. From this group have been selected the portraits of Mr. John Freke and Thomas Savage (Plate XI), and George Downing and Captain George Curwin (Plate XII). These have already been referred to in

Section III of this chapter. Equally interesting is the portrait of Mrs. John Freke (Plate XLIII), shown with the simple hood over the head and tied under the chin. The elbow sleeves are decorated with bow-knots, from under which one sees the linen sleeve with its ruffle. Around her neck she wears a beautiful lace collar in the older style. Another Plymouth portrait in the same group is that of Elizabeth Paddy Wensley (Plate XLIV), wearing the long stiff-boned bodice of those years. Her head is covered with the same type of hood as worn by Mrs. Freke. The horizontal cut to the neck of the gown is characteristic. Mrs. Simeon Stoddard (Plate XLV) was a wealthy Boston gentlewoman. She wears over her hair a large black hood tied under the chin, the two ends falling over her breast. The very horizontal cut of the neck of the bodice is filled in above with lace. The full-puffed linen sleeve is gathered in at the elbow and above; the lower part is edged with a fine ruffle. These portraits, and numerous others, show the rich quality of dress of many of the Puritan New England dames, who dressed with all the care and taste found in Virginia and in Dutch New York.

CHAPTER IV

THE DUTCH IN NEW YORK

1623–1675

The Dutch occupation of New York was a commercial venture. It was an enterprise in which religious motives or a desire for political freedom played a scarcely discernible part. That great trading organization, the Dutch West India Company, which planted the Dutch flag in the Hudson, Delaware, and Connecticut valleys, and which fostered and protected the New Netherland settlements in its blundering way, was organized for profit. Its mission was to pour wealth into the pockets of the shareholders by trade, by slave-carrying, by settlement and conquest, or by a legalized piracy upon the gold ships of Spain. It was only in this last pursuit that it found the profits sought. In all its more legitimate activities it encountered an almost unbroken record of failure and loss.

That the Dutch settlements grew so slowly and with such difficulty, and never attained the proportions or power that might have been theirs, was largely due to the mistaken policies of the company and the incompetence of its officials. There were other contributing causes. Holland, with a population of but two mil-

lions, could not send a sufficient body of settlers to contest the territory with the swarming English. Neither did economic pressure make the Dutch look toward America as a shore of opportunity and release; for Holland had newly won her independence, and her virtual monopoly of sea trade had brought her such a degree of prosperity that her people were little inclined to leave the comfortable certainties of Holland for the arduous uncertainties of the New World. Nor did the Dutch mind seem to have been swept by dreams of empire; neither did they seem to have possessed that persistent recklessness that pushed so many of the French and English explorers and pioneers far into untrodden territories.

Holland's first gestures toward settlement were no more than the establishment of trading outposts. There was one at Fort Nassau, renamed later Fort Orange, the present site of Albany, and at that time deep in the fur country. Another on Manhattan Island consisted of four log huts. Encouraged by the returns rewarding the early fur-trading efforts, a more serious attempt at colonization was made in 1623, when a shipload of some thirty families of Walloons settled at Fort Orange, along the shores of Long Island, and on Manhattan. Two years later more families came, bringing a supply of farming implements and a hundred head of cattle. With the arrival in 1626 of a governor and another band of settlers, the newly christened town of New Amsterdam began to put on a look of substance and activity.

In those early years the life, in common with the

PLATE XXX

By kind permission of Mrs. F. H. Rindge and the Boston Museum of Art

COL. NATHANIEL SPARHAWK (1715–1776)
By John S. Copley. Painted 1764

life in all the early settlements, was difficult and primitive. A line of log huts was thrown up behind the protection of the Battery, and wharves and storehouses were built to handle the bundles of furs that came down the river. The little farms beginning to spread along the island north of the fort were soon able to supply the growing community with greens and fresh vegetables, milk, butter, and eggs. Old letters of the time often voice complaints of the lack of comforts and necessities; but nevertheless the growth of New Amsterdam progressed with little of the suffering and despair that had been the portion of both Jamestown and Plymouth. It was as yet too workaday a community to indulge in extravagant dress; but the Dutch and Flemish fondness for color was not curbed by any churchly diatribes. Thus the early New Amsterdam scene was far brighter than the Puritan strongholds to the north.

Except for the more colorful materials of which they were made, the costumes of these early Dutch settlers differed very little from those of the Pilgrim band. The doublet, the fast disappearing trunk hose, and the breeches were the same, except for a certain squareness and fullness in the cutting. The Dutch, too, were addicted to the excessive use of decorated buttons, and were fond of elaborate ruffs and richly embroidered collars. With the entire life of the colony revolving around the fur trade, it is natural furs should have played an important part in their dress. Their doublets and cassocks were often lined with it, and it appeared as trimming upon their

gowns and cloaks. In winter they wore cloaks, hoods, and caps made entirely of skins.

New Amsterdam grew slowly in population, but the appearance of the little town changed quickly. The outer walls of the bastions of the fort were faced with stone, and behind them a replica of a small Dutch community began to appear. Warehouses for the West India Company were built of stone brought from the northern part of the island. Then came a brewery, a bakery, a horse-mill, and later the inevitable windmills. Brick was shipped from Holland and houses were erected in the characteristic Dutch fashion. Their high gables, often picked out in patterns of yellow, red, and black brick, faced the street, and a gilded weathercock surmounted the peak of each shingled or tiled roof. Glass in small diamond panes, mounted in leaded casements, was found in all but the poorest homes. These windows were small, but the doors were wide and spacious and cut in half, the upper portion, with its polished knocker, swung back in fine weather. Each house had its stoop, usually flanked by high-backed benches, where the family sat on summer evenings, the women knitting and sewing, the men smoking their long pipes. Behind each house was a garden with fruit trees and beds of tulips, hyacinths, larkspur, pinks, gillyflowers, and wild saffron. These gardens were often walled in or closed with hedges, the more prosperous burghers building summer-houses and arbors. There were also benches and tables where meals could be served in warm weather.

The better kind of Dutch home had a wide hall run-

ning from end to end, with rooms on either side. This hall often contained the guest bed with its curtains and valance of camlet and killiminster. The floors, during the earlier half of the seventeenth century, were usually sanded, stroked into quaint patterns by the broom. The fireplaces were large and cheerful, with their brass fenders, fire-screens, and tools, their scrubbed brick or stone hearths, their curious tiles set in the chimney breast. There was more furniture in the New Amsterdam homes than in those of New England. Every ship brought crates of chairs, chests, and tables; and there were skilled hands among the local craftsmen. In the early half of the century, furniture was of sturdy, substantial build, carved and turned in the Flemish manner. Spanish furniture, decorated with tooled leather and studded with elaborately wrought nailheads, was sometimes found—spoil taken from Spanish merchantmen and gold-carriers. Every Dutch family aspired to have at least one great cupboard or kast. In it were placed the most treasured articles in the house—silverware, glass, and fine porcelain. A huge chest, carved and sometimes covered with leather, was used to store the linen. A long oak drawing-table, sometimes of the extension variety, some heavy dome beds, high-backed chairs, benches, and settles completed the usual inventory of furniture.

Perhaps looms and spinning-wheels should be included among the furniture, for "Every household had from two to six spinning wheels for wool and flax, whereon the women of the family expended every leisure moment. Looms too, were in common use, and

piles of homespun cloth, and snow-white linen attested to the industry of the active Dutch maidens. Hoards of home-made stuffs were thus accumulated in the settlement, sufficient to last till a distant generation." It was the passion of every Dutch housewife to accumulate a great store of fine linens, both for use and as dowries for her daughters. Her huge kasts and chests were crammed with pillow-beres, towels, napkins, cupboard cloths, table-cloths, and heaps of uncut linen awaiting the shears and thread. The New Netherlands women were never idle; for "the worthy Dutch matrons would array themselves in their best linsey jackets and petticoats, and putting a half-finished stocking into the capacious pocket which hung from their girdle, with scissors, pincushion and keys outside their dress, sally forth to a neighbor's house to spend the afternoon. Here they plied their knitting-needles and their tongues at the same time, discussed the village gossip, settled their neighbors' affairs to their own satisfaction, and finished their stockings in time for tea." The maidens spent much of their time making petticoats of rich stuffs and many colors, quilting them in fanciful designs and elaborate figures.

It was a busy, comfortable, and unhurried life in early New Amsterdam. Yet here too, as in every other colony, there existed that sharp contrast between the sheltered existence of the town-dweller and the perils and strains of the pioneer. Compare the substantial homes of the New Amsterdam burghers with this contemporary description of the shelters of the newcomers: "Those who have no means to build farm-

PLATE XXXI

Courtesy of the Rhode Island School of Design

GOVERNOR MOSES GILL (1733–1800)
By John S. Copley. Painted 1766

houses according to their wishes, dig a square pit in the ground, cellar-fashion, six or seven feet deep, as long and as broad as they think proper, case the earth inside all around the wall with timber, which they line with the bark of trees, or something else to prevent the caving in of the earth; floor this cellar with plank and wainscot it overhead for a ceiling, raise a roof of spars clear up, and cover the spars with bark or green sods so they can live dry and warm in these houses with their entire families for two, three and four years, it being understood that partitions are run through these cellars which are adapted to the size of the family."

The new settlers who inhabited shelters of this sort in the outlying districts were harried by Indians and were subject to all the rigors of frontier life. In one respect they were more fortunate than their brothers in the other colonies: they had at their back the West India Company, with its supplies of live stock, farming tools, and seed. Their dress was simple and sturdy: homespun or leathern breeches and doublets for the men; fustian or linsey-woolsey skirts and bodices for the women. In winter both wore garments made of skins, and in the fields wooden clogs, or sabots. The men often wore an overfrock of rough linen, called a "pattrock," sometimes hanging loose, sometimes belted at the waist.

As early as 1629 a new departure in policy by the West India Company brought about an interesting change in the structure of New Netherland society. Finding immigration lagging, the company offered a large land grant with almost sovereign power of ad-

ministration to any one who at his own expense would transport fifty persons to the colony and establish them on the land. Many wealthy merchants seized this opportunity to become "patroons" and rivals of the Old World nobility. A number of these great families, like the Schuylers and Van Rensselaers, acquired an enormous amount of wealth and power, holding their new feudal state until well after the Revolution. They, together with the rich merchants of New Amsterdam, constituted a strong aristocracy of wealth, and the gap between them and the humble tenant farmer was a wide one, wider than in the northern or middle colonies. It corresponded to the relation between the planter and the poor white in the South.

As the century entered its third quarter, both the wealth and numbers of this class increased. New Amsterdam had become a humming, commercial city. Its harbor held ships of all nations, and its wharves were heaped with goods from a hundred strange seaports. The fur trade was still flourishing, the little farms along the river and the Sound were sending in an abundance of farm products. A steady stream of wealth was finding its way into the hands of all, from the highest to the lowest. The prosperous New Netherlander developed a taste for the rarest, finest, and most costly things. His home was filled with the plunder of foreign markets and bazaars; silk and cotton hangings and goods from Eastern looms; lacquer boxes and cabinets; Venetian and Bohemian glass; porcelains from the Orient, and furniture made from exotic woods.

Costume gained in richness and color. The finest fabrics from the looms of Europe and the Orient went to the making of the New Netherlander's clothes. The new fashion of the coat was appearing, and the younger men of wealth preferred those of the brightest colors, and lined with flashing silks and satins. Silver buttons and ribbons were used recklessly. Gold braid and loops of silver were sewn on the beaver hats, down the outer seam of the breeches, and on the cuffs and collars.

Old inventories and wills reveal a corresponding sumptuousness in the dress of the women. There are long lists of "blew silk petticoats," cornet lace caps, silk lute-string scarfs, scented gloves of colored leather, scarlet cloth, petticoats, and calico stomachers. The materials used were of the best—velvets, satins, taffetas, silks, sarsenets, and serge. Among the fashionable colors were fawn, mauve, rose, fire color, dead-leaf color, amaranth, and scarlet. The New Netherland women wore an abundance of jewelry: chains of gold and strings of pearls; brooches, pins, rings, bracelets, and ear-rings. The use of hair ornaments was distinctly Dutch, and travelers of the time always remarked upon this feature of the costume of the Dutch women of New York. Another characteristic Dutch custom was the wearing of a "chatelaine" of gold or silver at the waist, from which hung keys, bodkin, thimble, scissors, and various scent boxes and trinkets.

During the latter portion of the century there was a color and flavor of the sea and of the Old World in New York that was not to be found elsewhere between Maine and Georgia. With all the commerce of the

world crowding her docks, and the tongues of a score of nations clamoring along her quays, the little Dutch town still preserved its placid, Low Country air. She was, even in the seventeenth century, the most cosmopolitan town in America; yet in the core of her the Dutch life pursued its leisurely way. Even after the occupation by the English in 1664 she resisted for a long time the encroachments of new and strange habits; and in Albany and among the Hudson settlements the Dutch atmosphere persisted down into the nineteenth century.

1. DUTCH COSTUME: MEN

1623–1675

In tracing the development of costume in America thus far one finds one's study has been based upon English tradition. The necessity of having a knowledge of English as well as European costume has been of the utmost importance in order to make many deductions that, due to the lack of contemporary material in early colonial times, would otherwise have been impossible. Therefore, in continuing the study of the costume of the early settlers of New York, a knowledge not only of English costume is necessary but of Dutch dress as well.

Upon investigation one finds that the costume of the Dutch and English during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, affected as it was by the same influences, had a marked similarity. Especially is this true of the dress of the upper and middle classes who re-

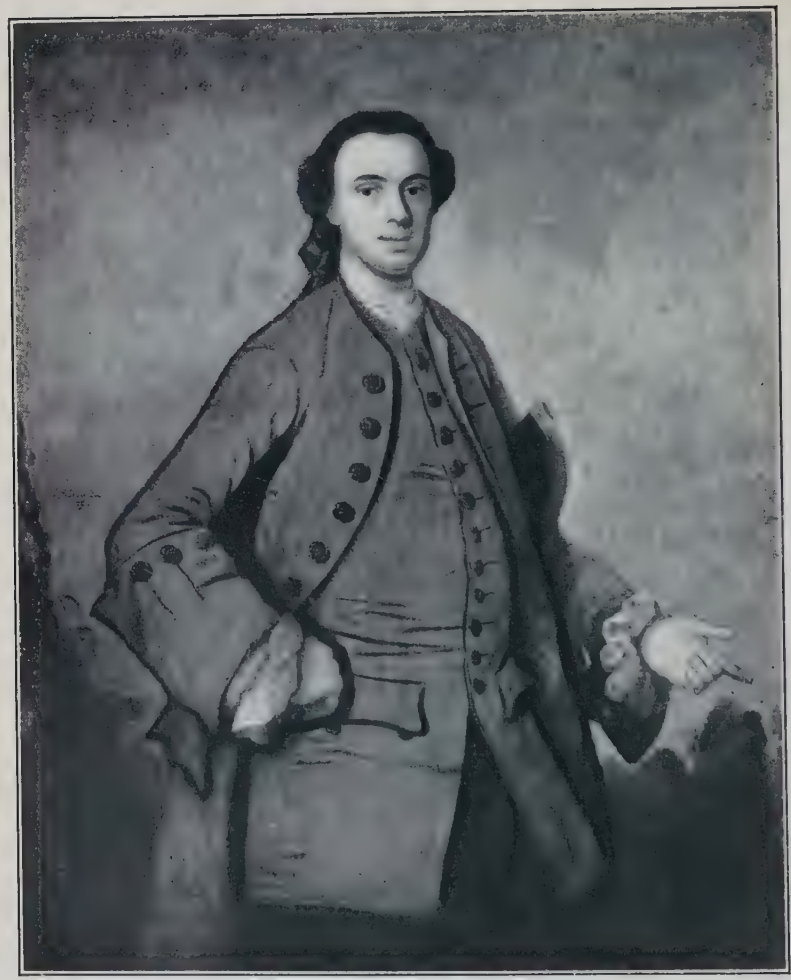


PLATE XXXII

Kind permission of Thomas B. Clarke and the Pennsylvania Museum

THOMAS JOHNSON (1732–1819)
By John Hesselius. Painted 1768

sided in the more populous cities. In speaking of this, Planché says: "Vandyke and Rubens had grandly and faithfully illustrated the dresses of the Flemish nobility, and the burin of Hollar has transmitted to us those of the townswomen and domestic servants of his own time. In the former, little difference is to be seen from the dresses of the English of the same date. In the latter, there is more national character."

The Spanish influence in costume that had held sway for so long a time, setting the fashion for western Europe and England, gradually waned after 1620. France then became the arbiter of fashion, which position she has held ever since. To quote again from Planché: ". . . the decrees of Fashion in France, issued then as now from the headquarters of the capricious divinity, Paris, to her votaries throughout western Europe." From France, then, during the next decade, from 1620–30, came the Cavalier type of costume, this type spreading through western Europe, affecting equally the styles of the Low Countries and those of England.

The Dutch in the New World did not oppress their people with religious intolerance, but allowed those within Dutch jurisdiction freedom of thought in matters religious. So there was not the interference by the authorities, nor the effort to control dress by sumptuary laws, such as has been noted in the case of New England.

A study of Dutch costume in the New Netherlands begins in 1621, the year the Dutch West India Company was given control of the Dutch navigation of

America. Yet it was not until 1623, three years after the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, that the colony really began to take permanent form. It was in this year the company sent over about thirty families in a Dutch vessel to start life in the New World. The largest group consisted of Walloons, "Protestant refugees from Belgium." They were a most industrious, worthy people, skilled in many trades, and splendidly equipped to meet the hard struggles for a livelihood in the New World. From all accounts, they wore the same costume as the Dutch. As has been seen, there was little if any difference in the dress of English and Dutch gentlemen of the upper and middle classes. In the main, body garments, breeches, linen, hats, cloaks, foot-gear, followed the same development and evolution in styles in the Low Countries as they did in England. This being so, it will not be necessary again to go over in detail the garments of these years. This has already been done in the Virginia section, where, in the main, Cavalier costume in the South was identical with Dutch costume in New Amsterdam. The authors would therefore refer the reader to Chapter II, Section III, page 53, for the main features during these years. In this section the costume will be treated more generally, stressing those features throughout more essentially Dutch.

It was during the years 1620 to 1630 that the doublet lost much of its severe outline and slowly developed into a more pleasing and easier-fitting garment, though still retaining certain characteristics of the shaped doublet. In Figure 34 one has an example

of the costume as worn by the early Dutch settlers, probably one of the Walloons who came over in 1623. The doublet is quite shaped to the figure, with a low waist-line, to which are attached a series of small tabs

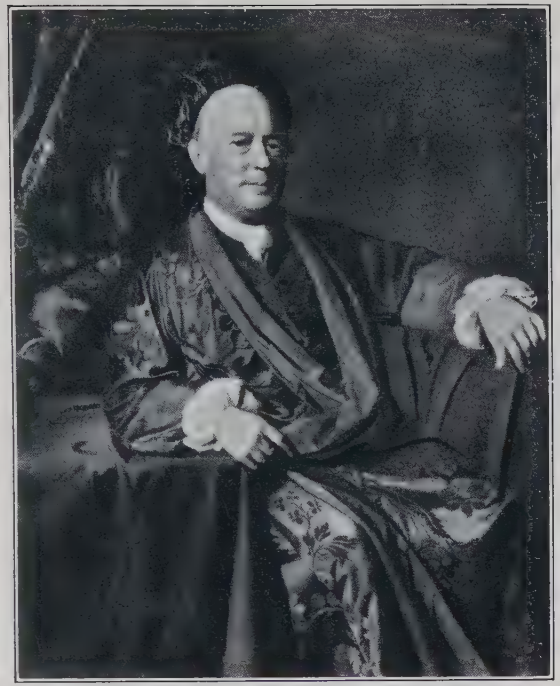
FIGURE 34

coming to a point in front. At the shoulders one would find the wings, or rolls, in this case hidden by the cloak of three-quarter length. The sleeves are tight-fitting and plain instead of the more elaborately slashed type, as is becoming to his station. In his great, full-gathered breeches one sees the last of the trunk hose. The stockings are cross-gartered around his knee and

tied in bows on the outside. Under the doublet is the linen shirt, the upstanding collar of which, with a scalloped edge, encircles his neck. The hat has a large sombrerolike brim and a moderate crown.

FIGURE 35

Under the rule of Governor Minuit in the New Netherlands the people had no voice in their own government. Because of this, together with the fact that at home Holland was living in peace and plenty, and at the same time enjoying religious liberty, migra-



Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art A

JUDGE JOSEPH SHERBURNE (1710–1779)

By John Copley

B *Medical School of Physicians, Harvard University*

EZEKIEL HERSEY (1708–1770)

Unattributed

tion was slow; for we are told that "at the end of five years, but five hundred people lived on Manhattan Island." To remedy this, and to stimulate emigration, the patroon system was established in 1629. The material advantages were so great under this system that it was not long before the valley of the Hudson was peopled with thriving estates. The costume of the patroon is shown in Figure 35 A. The doublet is not so shaped to the figure, the waist-line is quite high; instead of the series of tabs about the waist, one now finds a fairly long skirt. The waist-line might be left plain or decorated with points. The sleeves could be plain or full and slashed in the upper arm, coming to a tight sleeve over the forearm. A falling ruff of fairly good size surrounds the neck. The breeches, instead of being the very full-gathered trunks seen in Figure 34, are the full-cut breeches of the knickerbocker type. These great baggy breeches were extremely characteristic of the Dutchman and were made in a variety of shapes. They seem also to have been quite varied in color, and were elaborately trimmed with buttons, stripes, and ribbons along the outside seam. The buttons used were covered with cloth, but occasionally one finds silver buttons worn by those who could afford them.

The Dutch were extremely particular in the selection and care of their neckwear. Standing collars, whisks, ruffs, bands, and later lace collars, were made out of beautiful materials. They were always carefully washed, starched, and the sets skilfully pleated. The ruff was retained by the older men until quite late.

They are seen in Dutch paintings dating as late as 1650. At the wrists, and turned back over the doublet sleeve, were the cuffs made to match the neck-pieces. Under the doublets were worn the shirts. Mention is made of plain shirts, lace shirts, white and blue shirts, calico, Holland, and flannel shirts.

"Stockings," writes Esther Singleton, "were of great importance, and were generally of the same material as the trousers. Sometimes they were elaborately embroidered or trimmed. We read of silk, cotton, woolen, satin, flannel and roll stockings; stockings of white, black, blue, and, above all, scarlet. The stockings were held in place by garters; the garters contrasted with, or matched the stockings. There were garters of satin, silk or cloth."

The hat had a broad brim and a round low crown. Around the crown was placed a ribbon band or a metal chain of gold or silver. It might be further trimmed with a fine feathered plume. There were also tall, conical-crowned hats with straight, flat brims.

Cloaks of the same general line and cut as those worn by the Virginia Cavaliers formed a very important part of the Dutchman's wardrobe. Quoting further from Esther Singleton, one reads: "To wear a cloak with elegance was the mark of a gentleman; and it was not an easy thing to throw it over the shoulders in the proper folds and to keep its graceful lines. The burgomaster wore it to church and to the meetings of the Council, and kept it on with his hat while paying a call. On arriving home it was removed with the shoes, for which the slippers were substituted. Some

of the cloaks of the day were richly trimmed with gold or silver lace, or embroidered, but as a rule, they were handsome cloth lined with silk and sometimes ornamented with buttons."

Boots were of course worn; but as with the Pilgrims and the Puritans, stockings and shoes were more usual.

Citizens of position carried swords suspended from belts or baldrics. The shoulder-belts were often embroidered, and provided with silver buckles. Walking-sticks, silver and ivory headed canes were general.

There appear to be many military features in men's garments as a result of the Thirty Years' War. That long, bloody struggle in which England and Holland crushed the power of Spain came to an end with the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. Many of these features seem to have originated in the Low Countries. As an instance, we find many Dutchmen appearing, when on military duty in the colonies, from 1625 to 1640, in the buff coat or leather jerkin (Fig. 35 B). It is usually provided with long, flaring skirts overlapping considerably in front. They were held together either by lacings, points, or by a broad sash tied around the waist, and ending in a large bow on the left side. The leather jerkin might be made either with or without leather sleeves. When made without sleeves, as is the case in the illustration above, the sleeves of the doublet worn underneath it would be exposed to view. Later, after 1640, the long, flaring skirts gradually shortened until they disappeared. The gorget, or breastplate, was often worn over the buff coat. The full breeches were tucked into long boots, or the tops of

the boots were turned down and cupped. A shoulder-strap slung over the right shoulder supported the sword, which was suspended on the left side. This Dutchman wears a large sombrerolike hat, decorated with a sweep-

FIGURE 36

ing feathered plume. A brace of pistols might be thrust into the wide sash at his waist.

By 1660 the cassock was quite generally worn. It was collarless, with medium sleeves turned back in large cuffs. It was buttoned down the front and the skirts reached to about the knees. The breeches were cylindrical, reaching to a little below the knees. The cassock seems to have been extremely popular with the

Dutch. At the neck is the stiffened linen collar in the form of a whisk. In place of the whisk, the cravat or neck-cloth might be worn. About 1655 to 1660 it gradually replaced the falling band (Fig. 36 B).

The costume of a workingman of the seventeenth century consisted of a loose-fitting doublet of coarse but stout material, probably of "homespun, linsey-woolsey, canvas or leather." It would undoubtedly be sleeveless. Therefore, the medium full sleeves of the shirt, coming to a band at the wrist, would be seen. At the shoulders were small wings. The doublet was provided with buttons and buttonholes down the front. The breeches, of the same material as the doublet, were in the fashion of the full Dutch knickerbockers. The stockings were of "hand knitted yarn." Over his short hair he would wear a knitted cap, or a felt hat with a medium brim that could either be rolled up or pulled down over the face.

II. SEAMEN'S COSTUME

1623–1800

New Amsterdam had been a trading settlement from the beginning, its chief object being to carry on commerce, especially in furs, for the enrichment of the traders and merchants of the Dutch West India Company. As early as 1643, due to the great activity in the fur trade, New Amsterdam had become one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the New World. It is stated that at that time eighteen different languages were spoken in the city, so varied and heterogeneous

was its moving population. The slave trade, likewise, flourished in the New Netherlands, where it was looked upon as a respectable as well as a most profitable enterprise. By 1750 New York was indeed a busy mart. Hundreds of sailing vessels of all types could be seen in the waterways partly surrounding the settlement. Along the old waterfront the great bowsprits of the ships in port extended well over what is now Pearl Street. Towering beyond, rose a forest of masts and spars.

As the commercial activity of the Dutch made New Amsterdam one of the shipping centers of the New World, it was here probably more than anywhere else that sailors and seamen were seen in greatest numbers. This accounts for this chapter being selected as the one in which to treat of seamen's garb. The development of sailors' costume will be carried beyond the period set in this chapter, or until the end of the eighteenth century. In such manner this subject will be kept together and it will not be necessary to return to it in a subsequent chapter.

Along the waterfront and scattered through the city the masters and sailors of the merchant ships might have been seen in their picturesque garb. Though of all nationalities, their dress was quite similar. In Figure 37 c one sees a master of a sailing vessel of about the first years of the settlement of New Amsterdam. His doublet fits close, buttoning down the front. The projecting wings are seen at the shoulders. A leather belt is buckled around the waist. At the neck is seen the small falling band of the linen or cotton

shirt. The cuffs are turned back from the wrists. He wears a flat cap with a small projecting brim. His breeches, if seen, would be of the full knickerbocker type (Fig. 35 A). Heavy woolen stockings would be worn either with boots or shoes.

A common sailor of the same time is seen in Figure 37 A. The doublet is of the same general cut as the one just described; but instead of being made of cloth,

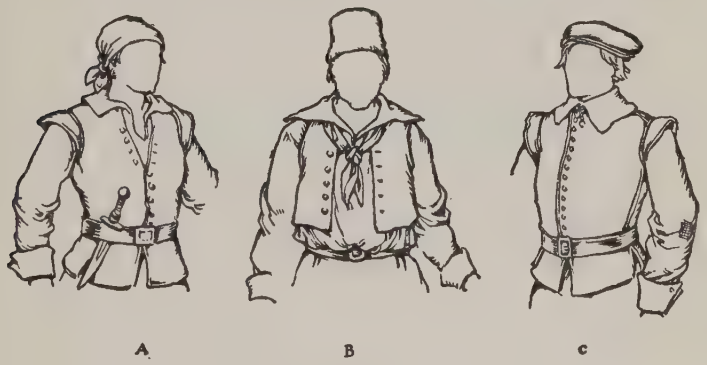


FIGURE 37

it is probably of canvas. It is partly open from the neck to below the chest. The collar of a coarse cotton shirt appears turned down at the neck, while cuffs are turned back at the wrists. The doublet might also be sleeveless, in which case the sleeves of the cotton shirt would be seen. In the belt is thrust a knife, either at the side or, as is so often the case, stuck in the belt at the back. A handkerchief, usually of a bright color, is tied over his head and knotted at the side. Over this is worn a heavy knitted cap. In Figure 37 B

a sailor of a later date is seen. The doublet is now a small sleeveless jacket, cut very short and open down the front, though provided with buttons and button-

FIGURE 38

holes. The shirt, with its turned-down collar and turned-back cuffs, was made quite full and was exposed down the front and all the way around from under the jacket, where it falls over the waistband of the

Courtesy of Harvard University A

NICHOLAS BOYLSTON (1716–1771)
By J. S. Copley. Painted 1767

B *Courtesy of the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University*

THOMAS BOYLSTON (1721–1798)
By J. S. Copley

breeches. The full-cut canvas, heavy linen, or cotton breeches, of the shape seen in Figure 38 A B, were worn. A neck-cloth or handkerchief was knotted round his neck under the collar. A brimless, high-crowned hat of truncated form, made of the skin of some animal, adorned his head, the fur side being worn outside.

A sailor's costume, dating about 1680 on, is seen in Figure 38 A B. In place of a doublet, one finds a short collarless coat or seaman's jacket. It is worn over a linen shirt, which appears also to be collarless. A handkerchief is knotted around his neck. The full white canvas trousers are belted in with a wide leather strap at the waist and come to about the knees. Round-crowned hats with upturned brims, knitted caps, heads tied up in handkerchiefs, ear-rings, knives, cutlasses, pistols thrust into belts, were picturesque additions to the costume. Heavy stockings and shoes or boots composed the foot-gear. As often as not the coats were taken off, the sailors appearing in shirts and breeches, with a red or colored handkerchief tied around their necks. The crews of the ships putting into the different ports along the eastern seaboard of the New World would, of course, be similarly attired.

A common sailor's, or seaman's, costume from about 1745 to 1776, as shown in Figure 39 A, would consist of the very wide-open breeches extending to about the knee. He might wear either a tight-fitting shirt or a knitted jersey. The wide breeches were belted in around the waist. The feet and legs were thrust into heavy knee-length boots. The head was done up in a handkerchief, presumably a red one, and over this

again might be worn a knitted cap; or, more probably, during the years in question, "a flat cocked hat." The

FIGURE 39

hair would be plaited in a short, straight pigtail, the end tied with a ribbon. About 1765 one finds the "hats of glazed leather, or, of woolen thrums, closely woven, and looking like rough knap." In Figure 39 B one sees again the garb of a common sailor, or seaman,

taken from a print dated about the time of the Revolution. The great loose breeches of knee length are still characteristic of the common sailor. A vest with large turned-back lapels, and buttoning down the front, is tucked inside the waist-band of the breeches. The opening at the neck reveals a shirt gathered in small pleats to a band encircling the neck. A stock, or cloth, is worn around the neck.

III. DUTCH COSTUME: WOMEN

1623–1675

After the Dutch were once firmly established in America and had begun to flourish and grow wealthy, their homes almost immediately reflected this growing prosperity. The wives of the rich merchants of New Amsterdam furnished their houses in the latest fashion, importing fine furniture and rich upholstery stuffs from Europe; or, when possible, having them made in the colony. In the great trading ships of the East India companies, both Dutch and English, came the fine stuffs from far Eastern looms, not only materials for hangings and upholstery, but silks, painted calicoes, and a fine quality of cotton goods for costume.

The following description from Esther Singleton's book "Dutch New York" will reveal how the ladies of the New World rivaled in richness of dress that worn by their relatives at home. She says:

> Robes of silk, sarcenet, velvet, satin, and serge in all the fashionable hues of the day,—scarlet, purple, amaranth, fire

color, rose color, dead leaf color, ash gray, and fawn and mauve,—trimmed with bows and knots of ribbons, braids, gold, silver, or silk fringes, pendants, bugles, and lace; petticoats lined with taffeta and bright with golden flowers embroidered by skillful fingers; black velvet lined with cloth of gold or silver; filmy ruffs and crisp, sheer caps; innumerable chains of gold and strands of pearls; gold bodkins for the hair; scented gloves, and high-heeled shoes; muffs, fans, masks, and fine handkerchiefs, and a *châtelaine* upon the various chains of which hung scent-bottles, pomanders, writing-tablets, pencils, seals, charms, and other trinkets—formed a costume that was full of beauty, elegance, and charm.

The rich petticoat and the overdress, the sets of extra sleeves embellished with lace ruffles, and the flowered calicoes that came from the East, the night-rails, the love hoods, the flowing robes, the fine furs, the laces, and the jewels that we see in the portraits of the day, were sent across the ocean, or made here by native seamstresses and tailors.

As the dress of the Dutch women in America followed the same development and fashion as that worn by the wives of the Cavaliers in Virginia, the same method will be followed in describing the women's dress as that used in dealing with the costume of the Dutchmen. For dates, changes, and evolutions in fashion, the reader is referred to Chapter II, Section IV, page 74; while in this section, women's costume will be treated generally, stressing those features more specifically Dutch.

The year 1623 is the logical time with which to begin the study of the costume of the Dutch women in America. For it was in this year that a small Dutch ship brought to the New Netherlands some "thirty odd families." Of these, some settled in Manhattan;

PLATE XXXV *Kind permission of Mr. Thomas Amory Lee and the Boston Museum of Art*

JEREMIAH LEE

By John S. Copley. Painted 1769

but by far the greater number continued the journey up the Hudson River to Fort Nassau.

The woman in Figure 40 A might be the wife or daughter of the man seen in Figure 34 and therefore

FIGURE 40

one of the women who came from Holland in 1623. The bodice is boned, still showing the rigid effect of the old Spanish influence. At the shoulders are the slashed puffs. The bodice is cut with a square opening at the neck, revealing the chemise. Rising from the neck of the bodice is a starched standing linen collar. The skirt, gathered up around the figure, shows a fine

petticoat. The hair is brushed back and carried over a pad, on top of which is placed a characteristic Dutch cap.

In Figure 40 B one sees the costume of a well-dressed woman of about 1628. She is probably the wife of a patroon. One notes the tight-fitting Dutch bodice, which is evidently boned and laced. Small wings are shown at the shoulders. The skirt is cut very full and shirred at the waist-line, and worn over the bodice. The ruff, of which the Dutch ladies were very fond, seems to have been worn well into the middle of the seventeenth century. In the example shown one sees a round ruff made up of fine pleats and extending well out over the shoulders and high in the back. "In order," we are told, "to keep them in shape after they were starched and ironed, they were fastened on gold and silver wires." Ruffs were an extremely expensive part of the costume. Not only were they made out of the finest quality of cambric, edged with lace, but they took a quantity of material. One reads: "When all the pleats of these were smoothed out, they sometimes measured sixty yards." The care of fine ruffs must have entailed considerable work and effort; for, we are told, "The making, undoing, washing, starching and ironing, and remaking, was no common work; and many Dutch ladies attended to the making and doing up of their ruffs themselves." A favorite ruff of the Dutch ladies, was one in which the circumference was interrupted across the front by a section that was either straight or of a slightly reversed curve (Fig. 41 A). As can be seen from the illustration, the ruff is worn

over a falling lace band that spreads well out over the shoulders. It is held together in the front by a jeweled pin or bow-knot. The skirt is gathered up under the

FIGURE 41

arm to show the petticoat. These handsome petticoats were made out of the finest materials, such as silks, damasks, velvets, and satins; for plainer wear, linen or cloth was used. Petticoats were among the most prized articles of a lady's wardrobe. The hem was

often trimmed with silver, gold, or silk embroidery. Over the skirt was worn the apron, not as a protection to the skirt but as a fashionable feature of the costume. Naturally, aprons thus worn were made of fine materials, though plainer ones for everyday wear might take their place.

The Dutch seem to have been very fond of jewelry, especially of diamonds. "They sparkle in rings," one reads, in "lockets, earrings, chains and pendants of various descriptions." Mention is frequently made of gloves both for men and women.

The Dutch women brought over from Holland, where it was extremely popular and is featured in so many paintings, a loose jacket that was made of silk, cloth, or velvet (Fig. 41 B). It is trimmed with fur or swansdown around the neck, down the front, and around the bottom. They were introduced about the middle of the seventeenth century.

The costume of a Dutch workingwoman in her everyday clothes would consist of a bodice that fitted quite loosely, with long sleeves reaching to the wrists. Over her shoulders was placed a folded kerchief. A long skirt was worn over a petticoat that came to a little above the ankles. An apron of some serviceable material was tied around the waist. While working, in order to have greater freedom, the overskirt and apron were caught up and fastened around the hips.

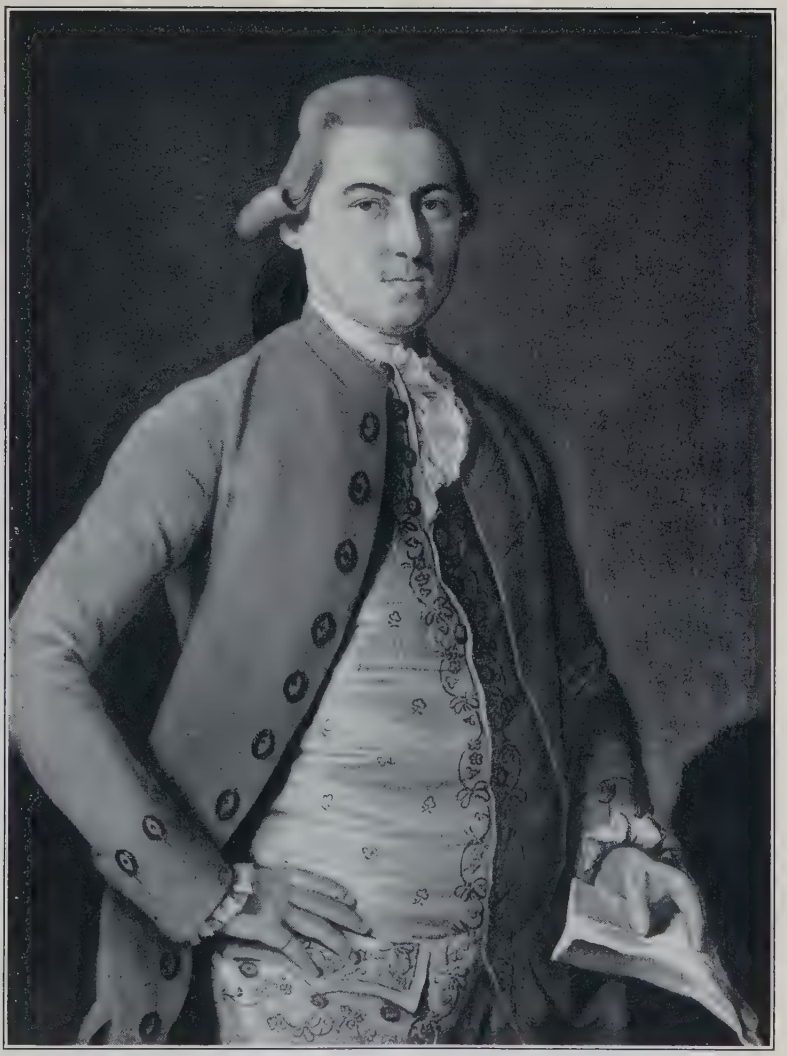


PLATE XXXVI

Kind permission of Thomas B. Clarke and the Pennsylvania Museum of Art

JAMES DE LANCEY (1732–1800)
By Henry Benbridge. Painted 1772

CHAPTER V

GROWTH AND CHANGE IN THE COLONIES

1675–1775

At the approach of the eighteenth century the great plain lands along the coast, a vast and resourceful empire, many times larger than England, had become somewhat subdued and disciplined into the pattern of civilization. It was settled sparsely and irregularly, but much of its fertile soil was under cultivation; roads were creeping from settlement to settlement, and packet ships were beginning to link the seaport towns and villages. It was an empire preponderantly agricultural; an empire largely self-sustaining, although dependent upon Europe for its luxuries and refinements; yet an empire almost entirely unconscious of its unity. It was still a collection of individual colonies and communities with few bonds in common; still provincial and limited in its vision by the horizon of local boundaries.

Its western borders were nibbling into the great band of forest that swept from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf. They were creeping toward the slopes of the Blue Ridge; up the Hudson and Mohawk valleys; through the foothills of the White and Green Mountains, and

into the Berkshire Hills. It was a far-flung line of advance, headed by traders and trappers, and backed by hundreds of landless pioneers, all fighting their way into the Indian country steadily and irresistibly. In the century stretching from 1675 to 1775 this advance was to gather momentum until, upon the eve of the Revolution, the more daring of the vanguard had penetrated into the Mississippi basin. Behind them the mountain ranges, the foothills, and the upland regions were dotted with widely scattered settlements and clearings.

The character of the life on this frontier changed but little during the century; for it was necessarily an arduous and comfortless existence, tempting none but the hardy and adventurous and those pressed by necessity. On the other hand, as the century passed, life in the older settlements underwent a marked change, until, with the advent of the Revolution, the gulf between the town dweller and the frontiersman had widened to the point where they seemed the product of two widely different types of civilization.

A gradual and far-reaching economic development was ordering the life and structure of the older communities along the seaboard into a new design. The areas of the coastal plain, as it became more thickly covered with plantations and the yielding acres of the freeholding farmers, poured out yearly a great stream of provisions, much too large to be consumed at home. Tobacco from Virginia and the South; corn, flour, furs, hides, flax, and hemp from the middle colonies; lumber, turpentine, fish, and live stock, found their

way down to the seaport towns to be sent to England and the Continent, to the West Indies, or to the other colonies. In return came money and credit and all the rich and costly things for the home or person the older civilization could supply. In addition, wealth poured in from the many young and flourishing industries that had sprung up in the middle and northern provinces—the manufacture of linen and woolen materials, felt hats, stockings, bar iron, candles, paper, and rope. In New England, where by the middle of the eighteenth century seventy ships were being launched annually, fortunes were being accumulated, and whole communities were made prosperous by the foreign and coastal trade and by the fishing carried on in New England bottoms. Under the stimulus of this prosperity, villages grew into towns, towns into cities. In 1700 Philadelphia was a tiny town of a few hundred houses; Charleston was still smaller. New York had barely five thousand inhabitants, while Boston, the largest community in the colonies, perhaps seven thousand. Seventy-five years later these centers had grown into flourishing cities, the equal of any save the very largest and greatest of the European cities in population, wealth, and culture.

Coincident with their growth and wealth came the forging of a society actuated by the manners and aims of European aristocracy, a society that attempted to reproduce the formulæ current in the cultured circles of England and the Continent. Much of the simplicity and ruggedness of the early days was passing and a type of town life was coming into being, clearly

marking it apart from the agrarian society of the hinterland. Unless the simple life of the frontier and the more ordered existence of the town are fitted into one picture, it is impossible to comprehend rightly the variety and contrast of early American life. Judging from special evidence, it is only too easy to visualize these colonists either as rude and graceless folk battling in a bare and grim environment for the necessaries of life, or, as formal figures moving in an elegant and artificial society, a near replica of the courts and fashionable circles of the Old World. The truth is it was as curious a blend of both sophisticated civilization and primitive life as can be found in all history.

It is during this century of expansion that the materials for the study of costume begin to accumulate in a constantly increasing store. In the previous era of the early settlements the evidence is discouragingly scanty. The pictorial records—they are the most valuable of all records in this study—are few, and the information to be gleaned from letters, diaries, books, invoices, and acts of legislation is not too abundant. Many of the conclusions respecting the early costume must be drawn from inference and deduction, and from knowledge of European sources.

As the colonies won to some measure of wealth and leisure, materials became richer and more varied. The first newspaper was published in 1690, and, although short lived, others followed, and from their quaintly worded advertisements it is possible to check quite accurately the arrival of new fashions, and to trace the

PLATE XXXVII *By kind permission of Thomas B. Clarke and the Pennsylvania Museum of Art*

JOHN PHILIP DE HAAS (1735–1786)
By Charles William Peale. Painted in 1772

growth of native manufactures. The monthly journals appearing toward the middle of the century also contained occasional bits of information; but on the whole they are much less valuable sources than the weekly newspaper. European travelers in the colonies were fairly numerous, and, fortunately for us, many of them were observant men who published their impressions. These travel accounts, like those of the Abbé Robin, Burnaby, and Chastellux, are packed with comment on the life, manners, and dress of the time. They are doubly valuable, since they constantly measure this life by European standards. Then there exists a wealth of documentary evidence in the form of letters, sermons, court records, diaries, bills of lading, handbills, and account-books.

There is a corresponding increase in graphic material. Toward the middle of the eighteenth century, engravings and wood blocks appeared in numbers in the papers and journals, on handbills and stickers. The technique of these early illustrations is usually crude, and the facts they present are sometimes misleading, owing to the indifferent skill of the artist; yet they furnish many valuable clues for the student of costume. It is to the painters of the period, however, that the greatest debt must be paid.

Almost all the early American painters were portraitists. This was necessarily so, since not only did the pictorial expression of the time in western Europe find its chief outlet in the portrait, but in the dissenting, protestant atmosphere of the new country only an art holding some flavor of the utilitarian could

flourish. These early American painters are obscure, most of their canvases being unsigned and little being known of their lives. They were mostly men of small talent and of little training. Their efforts were usually constrained and halting, though sometimes they achieved a kind of compelling naïveté often found in primitive work.

In New England one first encounters the names of painters of whom almost nothing is known—Joseph Allen, Thomas Child, Lawrence Brown. Later appeared men of greater attainment—Badger, Blackburn, Smibert, and, most gifted of all, Robert Feke of Newport. In the South, likewise, many of the early portraits are unattributed. From Charleston comes one name, that of Henrietta Johnson, a worker in pastel during the early years of the eighteenth century. By 1711 a Swedish painter, Gustavus Hesselius, appeared in Delaware and Maryland. In New York the Duykinck family and Gerret van Randst were at work; and the Philadelphia botanist Christopher Witt painted a few portraits. Later in the century Charleston attracted a little group of artists—Jeremiah Theuss, B. Roberts, and Alexander Gordon. An English painter, Charles Bridges, worked in Virginia from about 1730 to 1750. Year by year from now on the number of painters and the quality of their efforts increased, until by the end of the colonial era the four greatest of the early American painters were at work —namely, John Singleton Copley, Benjamin West, Charles Wilson Peale, and Gilbert Stuart.

The work of these men and their colleagues, both

native and foreign, affords a rich treasury of material. It is costume material in its most usable and accessible form; but it is not without errors and pitfalls for those accepting its facts at their face value. Among both the early and the later portraits there are many inaccuracies in the dates assigned them, even among those hanging in important museums. There are instances of pictures being dated almost a hundred years before the costume depicted could possibly have appeared. On the other hand, there are examples of costumes portrayed which were fashionable several generations before the date of the picture. This is sometimes a mistaken dating, or it may simply be additional proof that certain conservative persons clung to the fashions of an earlier day. There are many examples of portraits being attributed to the wrong artist. Other pictures have been changed and retouched, and there are a certain number of modern paintings masquerading as original colonial canvases.

In the work of the early portraitists it is not uncommon to find the use of certain stock poses. Not only do numbers of pictures exist in which the pose is precisely the same, but the same dress is sometimes used (Plates L, LI). Only the head, and sometimes the hands, differentiate these portraits. It was the habit of certain of these painters, once having hit upon a number of happy poses, and having copied a number of particularly fetching gowns, to spend the long winter months painting copies of them, omitting only the head and perhaps the hands. In the late spring, when the sun had again rendered the roads passable, they

loaded these partially completed canvases upon carriages and pack-horses, making a circuit through the rich farming districts. Thus many a simple farm-wife sat while the artist painted her head into the vacant space on one of his canvases, she acquiring a portrait of herself bedecked in a gown worthy of the governor's lady. There came into being whole series of these portraits, in which a great variety of sitters attempted the same formal gestures and stared out self-consciously from above the same marvel of dressmaking.

Another custom among colonial painters, more particularly among the later ones, was the use of draperies over parts of the figure in an evident effort to achieve a look of elegance and luxury. Often the effort is quite apparent; but sometimes it is difficult to separate the legitimate costume from the studio accessory. Of course, this practice occurs usually in the portraits of women.

Always to be considered and allowed for is the artistic personality of the painter; the range and limitation of his interests, his technical command, his race and background. A technically awkward painter may make the most graceful of sitters and the richest of costumes seem inept, frigid, lifeless. On the other hand, certain suave technicians contrived to lend an air of graciousness and sophistication to the stiffest, most unbending of subjects. Then, too, almost always the race of the painter strikes through. Certain of the Dutch painters of early New York have given a Low Country air to all of their sitters, regardless of their ancestry. Balancing this, many English artists

PLATE XXXVIII

Courtesy Boston Museum of Fine Arts

have converted some excellent Dutchmen into Englishmen on their canvases. With this transfer of nationality, practised unconsciously by artists, goes an accompanying change in the character of the sitter's dress. These changes are slight but none the less real. They involve no actual alteration in the garments worn, only a difference in the way they were handled and draped to the figure. They emphasize the fact that national characteristics of dress are often less a matter of the actual kind of clothing worn than the air and manner in which a dress is worn.

In the main the painters in the colonies worked in the English tradition and reported the appearance of things in the English fashion. This was as it should be; for always the dress of colonial days was predominantly English. Even in the foreign communities, as among the Dutch in New York, the Germans in Pennsylvania, the Swiss of New Berne, the tendency was to discard the habits and habiliments of their home country and to acquire the ways of the new land. England herself, when she borrowed from the modes of France, Spain, Germany, or the Low Countries, never accepted them in their entirety. In costume, as in art and manners and all other things, nothing passed through English hands and minds without becoming transformed in the passing: for England always possessed that stubborn power of converting her borrowings into something distinctly and unmistakably English. Something of that stubborn power found its way across the Atlantic and operated during the early years of the colonies.

Early American Costume

I. COSTUME OF THE MEN

1675–1775

About the year 1670 one finds a change in the costume of the man throughout western Europe, England, and America. This change marked the separation of the fanciful costume of the Old World from "the triarchy of coat, waistcoat and breeches" of the New, which in one form or another has lasted until the present day.

Body Garments.—The coat is usually claimed to have been developed from the "Eastern fashion of vest . . . after the Persian mode," as mentioned in Evelyn's Diary in the year 1666. In relation to this, Kelly and Schwabe state: "The peculiar costume known as a vest after the Persian fashion, adopted in October 1666 by Charles II and his court, was an ephemeral mode and had little or no lasting influence. It was introduced as a counterblast to the craze for French fashions, which after as before retained their supremacy. We have been unable to identify it in contemporary art." For the best information concerning this new fashion in vests that made their appearance in Charles II's court, turn to the October entries in the Diaries of Evelyn, Pepys, and Rugge for the year 1666. It is interesting to find them all giving identically the same information relative to the king and the court adopting the new dress which all refer to as the "Eastern fashion in vests."

To quote from one of the above; Evelyn makes an

entry in his Diary under date of October 18, 1666, reading as follows:

> To Court. It being the first time his Majesty put himself solemnly into the Eastern fashion of vest, changing doublet, stiff collar, bands and cloak, into a comely dress, after the Persian mode, with girdles or straps, and shoestrings and garters into buckles, of which some were set with precious stones, resolving never to alter it, and to leave the French mode, which had hitherto obtained to our great expense and reproach. Upon which, divers courtiers and gentlemen gave his Majesty gold by way of wager that he would not persist in this resolution.

It appears, therefore, that the fashion for "Persian vests in the Eastern fashion" was more or less limited to court circles abroad, and was of such a short vogue they could hardly have appeared in America. They can be dismissed without further comment.

What seems to have been more probable is that the coat in this style and cut, appearing about 1670, was developed from a garment then called a cassock (Fig. 42). The cassock, in turn, had been derived from the earlier military garment, the leather jerkin with long skirts (Fig. 35 B). An authority states: "It is collarless, reaches to the knee, and has full turned up sleeves." In support of this, Planché defines the cassock as "a long loose coat or vest." In referring to an illustration of Fairholt's of a hackney coachman, taken from a broadside of the time of Charles I now in the British Museum, and called by Fairholt a cassock, Planché adds: ". . . which is certainly nothing more or less than a loose coat, with buttons all down the

FIGURE 42

front, and large cuffs, the prototype of the coats of our great grandfathers."

Mr. Bolton states:

PLATE XXXIX

By kind permission of Mr. Thomas B. Clarke and the Pennsylvania Museum of Art

HENRY LAURENS (1724–1792)
By John S. Copley. Painted 1782

> There seems to be no evidence that fashion was slow in reaching America, nor that fashion originated on this side of the ocean. The Colonists visited England so often that we may assume a Virginia gentleman would not be content with a coat out of fashion in London.

He further states that "The only difference appears to be where we seem to have had a short period of local conditions of costume not obtaining in England." This is likewise true of the gentlemen of New England and the central colonies, particularly in the circles surrounding the governors. In further relation to this following of the English fashions, Mrs. Earle states:

> Around the governors of the various provinces gathered in each capital, a little circle of card playing, horse racing, fox hunting court attendants, who naturally wore the best dress in the provinces; English younger sons, sent to America to sober down, where they proceeded to liven America up. The constant correspondence of the governor and his officials with England kept this circle fully informed upon all the changes in dress; and many of these letters, both private and official, have been preserved. From them, we gain an excellent notion of the importance of good dress, and the prevalence of good dress in the colonies, and of good living in every respect—furniture, wine, food.

It appears, therefore, accepting the above as a basis, that shortly after the coat and vest became the fashionable garments in England in 1670 they also featured in the wardrobe of the colonial gentlemen in America. Thus, one finds the first coats following the lines of the cassock, cut straight and without being shaped in at the waist, and extending to about mid-thigh, or a

little beyond (Fig. 43 A). They were provided with buttons and buttonholes down the front; but as a rule they were only fastened together to about the waistline. From there down they remained open. At the el-

FIGURE 43

bow, either a little above or below, are found the broad turned-back split cuffs, usually of a different material from the coat. Below the broad cuffs one finds the full sleeves of the skirt. They are gathered to a band at the wrist from which the ruffles fall over the hand.

The pockets were usually horizontal, placed low down and covered with large flaps. The vest was exposed when the coat was open, and reached to a little below the waist-line.

The next change to be noticed in the coat was shortly after 1670, when it began to be cut a trifle more full in the skirt and commenced to be more and more shaped in at the waist (Plates XVII, XX, XXV, XXVI, etc. Fig. 43 B). It was also gradually lengthened until it reached to the knees, or a trifle below. The vest also followed along the same lines, gradually lengthening until it was only a few inches shorter than the coat. The vest was provided with buttons and fastened most of the way down. The fashionable way to wear the coat at this time was to allow it to remain open. In the back the full skirts were split in two openings, one at each hip. The openings were provided with buttons and buttonholes, so it could be closed if desired. The pockets were still set very low in the coat and vest and were either provided with large flaps or edged with braid or galloon. It was in these great pockets the men carried their snuff-boxes, lace handkerchiefs, and silver combs, the latter used to comb and dress the great periwigs. The horizontal pocket seems to have been more generally preferred than the vertical ones. While sleeves of elbow length occur throughout the century, there was a tendency for the sleeve to lengthen until, by the last decade of the century, it was quite general for the sleeves with their turned-back cuffs to almost reach the wrists. Both vests and coats were collarless.

Many men preferred wearing the coat without the vest (Plates XIX, XXIV A. Fig. 44 A), which, in a way, became a fashion, especially among the younger men, and lasted into the early years of the eighteenth

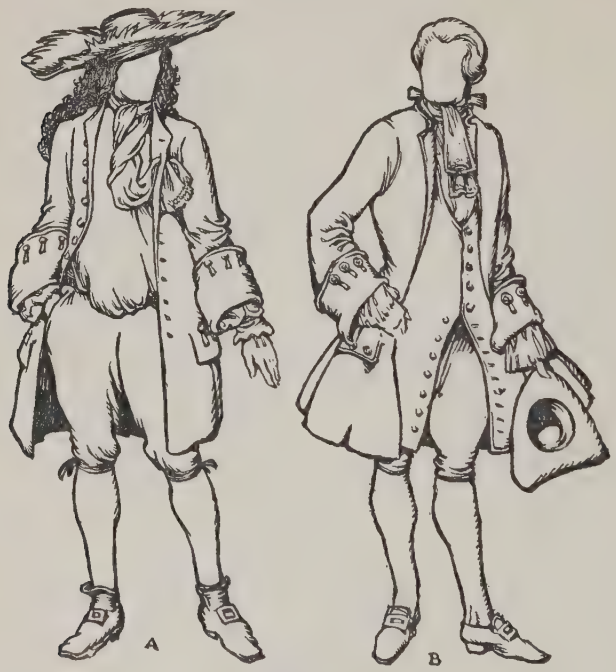


FIGURE 44

century. The laying aside of these heavy vests must have been a great comfort in the summer months, especially in the South. The coats were allowed to remain open, and the full linen shirt hung over the waist-band of the breeches. As a matter of fact, the coats never seem to have been fastened, the buttons

PLATE XL

Courtesy of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts

PORTRAIT OF JOHN ADAMS (1735–1826)
By John S. Copley. Painted 1783

and buttonholes being more for adornment than for utility. The buttonholes "were carefully cut and laid around in gay colors," we are told, "embroidered with silver and gold thread, bound with vellum, with kid, with velvet."

At the beginning of the last quarter of the seventeenth century the coat was being more and more fitted to the waist. This fashion increased with the years, until, when the last decade of the century was reached, one finds the skirts of the coat enlarged and stiffened. This resulted in the coat skirts being gathered into pleats that radiated in fan-shaped forms from a button on the hips. As will be seen, this style of enlarged skirts, gathered into radiating pleats in the back, lasted until about 1750, when it gradually went out of fashion. These buttons, by now more or less ornamental, were copied from the buttons worn on riding-coats, the coat-tails being buttoned to them, thus keeping them out of the way when the rider mounted his horse. One also reads that "they were used for looping back the skirts of the coat." It is said "that loops of cord were placed at the corners of the said skirts." This must have been convenient for everyday wear and for walking as well as riding.

During the first half of the eighteenth century there is no marked change in the style of the coat, except in the narrow turned-down collars occasionally appearing on coats in the late thirties (Fig. 45 A). Other changes occurring during these years were concerned with minor details. The features already explained in the costume of the fashionably dressed man became

more and more pronounced. The fashionable coat and vest from 1700 to 1750 remained about the same length (Plate XVIII. Fig. 44 B), the coat extending to the knees or a little below, the vest remaining several inches shorter than the coat. As a general rule, neither the coat nor the vest was provided with a collar. Between the years 1715 and 1720 the coats with the full skirts gathered into radiating fan-shaped pleats from the hip buttons were further emphasized by stiffening the skirts of both the coat and vest with buckram to give them "a lamp shade outline as if to rival the ladies' hoops."

From the beginning of the century the general tendency was for sleeves to lengthen toward the wrists, where they were turned back in deep split cuffs. The cuffs were usually held in place by buttons. Heath says: "The cuff of the George the First coat, had three buttons with three notched holes, otherwise there was no ornamentation, and the material was as plain and economical as decency permitted."

It was during these years that the pockets of both the coat and vest were raised considerably higher. We are told that "the opening of the pockets was much reduced and sank to about the point at which a man could easily put his hands into them, as if the very tailors felt the movement in favor of thrift, and the pleasure of clutching one's money."

Many of the waistcoats were richly ornamented down the front and around the skirts with embroidery in the form of running vines interspersed with clusters of flowers. The great pocket flaps were likewise

richly embellished; also around the buttonholes. Buttons were selected with great care. They were made of paste, "were rich in colored enamels and jewels, in odd natural stones of lovely tints, such as agates, carnelians, bloodstones, spar, marcasite, onyx, chalcedony, lapis lazuli, malachite."

Between the years 1750 and 1760 the buckramed skirts of the vests and coats gradually lessened in width and exaggeration, until they finally went out of fashion. Fairly plain and closer-fitting skirts to the coats took their place. Horace Walpole is quoted as saying: ". . . the habits of the time shrunk to awkward coats and waistcoats" (Fig. 45 A B). The coat, which in the beginning came together in the front (Fig. 43 A), was gradually left more and more open, until one finds it sloping away from the neck toward the waist, thus decidedly increasing the opening (Plate XXIX. Fig. 45 A B). There was still, however, a trifle of fullness left in the skirts. "Fashion," it is said, "was getting rid of lace and embroidery, and all unnecessary waste material. Instead of the quadruple skirts with multitudinous folds, which were the delight of the days of William and Mary and Anne, a man's coat tails were now reduced almost to the dimensions of the modern frock coat. To save appearances, however, the numerous folds were represented by three petty ones, which hung at each side of the skirts apparently suspended from a button."

The large turned-back cuffs (Plate XXIX. Fig. 45 A), that by now reached the wrists, with only a slight ruffle of lace showing from under them, were

worn until about 1760. Gradually the smaller cuff was coming into favor and after that date became small and tight (Plate XXXVI. Fig. 45 B).

FIGURE 45

It was also about this time, 1750 to 1760, that the great pocket flaps were much reduced in size.

The vest was left unbuttoned a short way down the neck, in order to show the carefully arranged cravat. It was then buttoned up to about the waist-line. From this point the skirts sloped away rapidly toward the

sides. The vest was considerably shortened, the skirts coming to about mid-thigh (Plates XXIX, XXX, XXXI. Fig. 45 A B). Thus one sees the coat and vest

FIGURE 46

gradually "shrinking" into smaller garments which lasted until the Revolution.

The illustrations (Plates XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII. Fig. 46 A) depict a man's costume as worn on the eve of the Revolution. The coat has lost most of the fullness and amplitude characterizing it up until a

little past the middle of the century. The front of the coat drops away in straight but slightly slanting lines to about the knees. The coat-tails still radiate with a few folds from the two buttons that have been moved more to the back (Fig. 46 B). The cuffs are much smaller, and they may or may not have the buttons on the upper edge. The waistcoat is considerably shortened. It buttons in a straight line to a little below the waistband of the breeches, where it slants off at a decided angle, forming a short skirt (Plates XXXVII, XXXVIII. Fig. 46 A C).

BANYANS.—It can scarcely be said that the dress of these years of which we are speaking, picturesque and charming as it was, was altogether comfortable. The long tight-fitting vests, the heavy and excessively hot wigs, the greatcoats with large turned-back cuffs, ruffles of lace at the wrists and neck, did not provide a dress conducive to comfort and lounging. Without doubt, the coat, the wig, and sometimes the vest, were taken off and laid aside as soon as the man came into the privacy of his own home, he donning a more comfortable garment. Not only was this négligé needed for lounging, but it should not be forgotten that the long summer months of exceedingly hot weather must have made wigs and coats, especially in the South, almost unbearable. Men undoubtedly went about in linen shirt and breeches; or wearing over the shirt merely a vest. To fill this need, then, for a more comfortable garment that could be worn as a négligé, there was introduced a gown called either a "morning gown," or a "night gown." This garment, in America often termed

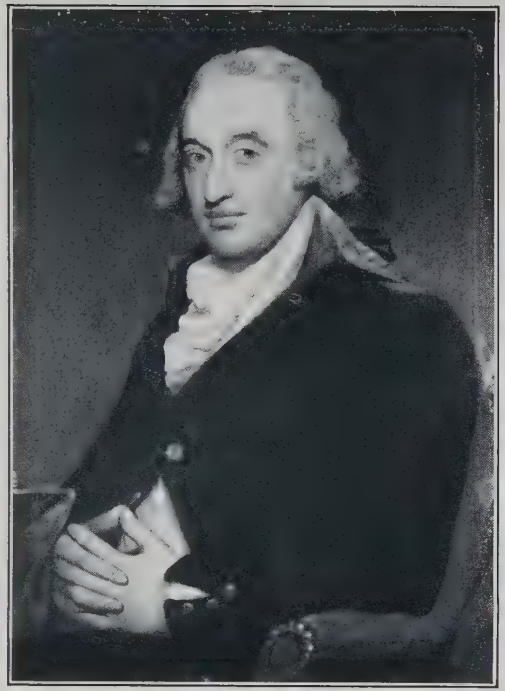
a night gown, did not refer to a sleeping garment, but was a loose, comfortable robe worn as a dressing-gown, or négligé. The sleeping garment, when one was worn, was usually known as a "night rail." It is of interest to find that this morning gown, or dressing-robe, was just as popular in many of the countries of Europe as it was in America. This was especially true of both England and France. It appears that early in the eighteenth century a new garment similar in cut and form came from England and was known as a "banyan." It became exceedingly popular with the colonists, particularly in Philadelphia and the South, the summers being hot, and in some sections almost tropical. It was a handsome article of dress, and, for those who could afford the expense, made out of the richest silks, brocades, velvets, and other fine materials. Mrs. Earle states: "By the year 1730 certainly, and possibly earlier, these Indian gowns had become known generally by the name banyan, banjan, or banian." Nor were all banyans made of silks or damasks; for there were many who could not afford such rich materials, or wanted a less expensive garment for general wear. They could be procured, therefore, in cheaper materials, such as striped and figured cottons, though they would probably be lined with colorful materials.

The banyan made of brocade or velvet and provided with a heavy, warm lining was for winter wear. For summer, there were banyans of "soft Chinese silk" unlined. What a welcome relief these cool, loose garments must have been, after the heavy coats with their deep turned-back cuffs and stiffened skirts! Banyans

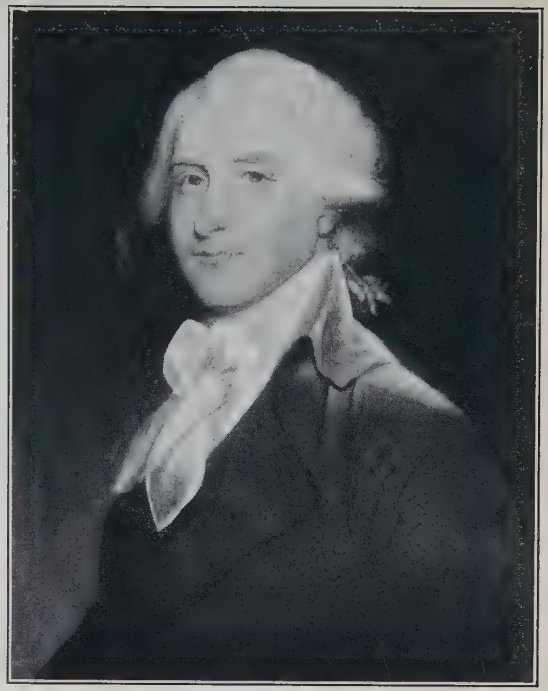
were worn alike by men, women, and children. Not only were they worn as a house gown, but during the summer months merchants and lawyers went to their counting-houses and offices so attired. In the South the masters and overseers of the plantations went the rounds of their vast estates garbed in these cool and comfortable garments.

As can be seen in the portraits of Joseph Sherburne and Ezekiel Hersey (Plate XXXIII) and Nicholas and Thomas Boylston (Plate XXXIV), banyans were an important enough garment to have been worn by them while having their portraits painted. In both instances they are made of rich figured silks, with a lining of plain silk. The plain silk of the lining, as a rule, formed the long, rolling kimonolike collar, as well as the full turned-back cuffs of the fairly ample sleeves. The banyans were made the same inside and out and thus were often worn reversed. With the banyan is usually associated the turbanlike head-dress that was worn over the shaved head on the removal of the wig. (See Turbans under the caption HEAD-GEAR on page 205.)

CLOAKS AND OVERCOATS.—From the beginning of the period, capes and cloaks were no longer fashionable garments, nor of so much importance as in previous times when the wearing of a cloak in the "grand manner" was part of the training of a gentleman. It is true, however, they are met with from time to time during the entire eighteenth century. Especially were they worn in cold weather by travelers, either when mounted on horseback or when traveling as passen-



A



B

By kind permission of Mr. Thomas B. Clarke and the Pennsylvania Museum of Art

GEORGE POLLOCK

By Gilbert Stuart. Painted 1793

WILLIAM CONSTABLE

By Gilbert Stuart. Painted 1796

PLATE XLI

gers in the great lumbering coaches. In either case, a traveler could bundle himself up to his eyes in a warm, heavily lined cloak. The cloak was now more like a

FIGURE 47

great mantle, worn wrapped around the figure instead of being thrown over the shoulders as formerly.

In place of the cloaks, one finds for general wear the long, loose overcoats coming into fashion (Fig. 47 A). They were provided with great cuffs turned back in the same manner as those upon the sleeves

of the coat. Around the neck was a fairly large flat collar. Or, the collars overlapping, the outer could be pulled up around the head and face and buttoned down the front, thus giving protection from the cold. They were commonly belted and buckled-in at the waist. Shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century one meets with coats provided with capes (Fig. 47 B). Sometimes a double or triple cape overlapped the shoulders. They were also provided with large revers that turned back in front. The coat was double-breasted.

There is little doubt but that the earlier types of leather and fur coats were still worn, such as "moose-skin," "raccoon-skin." Of especial favor among huntsmen were the "deerskin coats."

BREECHES.—Petticoat-breeches (Fig. 15 A B C) were undoubtedly worn on occasions, in some sections of our country, under the long coats; probably in the South or among the Dutch in New York. Even in these sections they must have gone out of fashion by 1680. The breeches in more general favor throughout the country during the early years of this period were the very "full gathered breeches" of the knickerbocker type, appearing in voluminous folds from under the skirts of the long coats and vests (Fig. 43 A). From these full-gathered breeches were developed breeches of more moderate cut, gathered tighter at the knees (Fig. 44 A B etc.). They seem to have been generally worn by 1675.

The next change came in during the last years of the eighteenth century, when the breeches were made

to fit the leg quit close. They were "not tight to the leg, but just full enough for comfort." They were cut, however, full in the seat, and were gathered to a tight waist-band (Fig 46 A). These tight-fitting breeches came down over the knee and were fastened in place by a buckle (Plate XXVI. Fig. 46 B D), or fastened up on the outside with small buttons, usually four or five in number (Plates XXIX–XXXVIII). Outside of the buckles and buttons at the knee, these breeches were not otherwise embellished. As a rule, the breeches matched the coat in color and material; though odd breeches of a plain material might have been worn. If so, they were usually of black velvet.

After the close-fitting knee-breeches once came into fashion, there seems to have been very little change in their cut and fit (Plates XXVIII, XXIX, XXX, XXXV). In fact, so long as the coat and vest retained their full skirts, the breeches were hardly visible (Plates XVII, XVIII. Fig. 43 B). All these types of breeches were tailored to fit tight over the leg, were fairly full in the seat, and were gathered up to a close-fitting waist-band. At the knee the breeches were brought together and made to fit close, either by a buckle or in a series of buttons. Mrs. Earle states: "Breeches-making in this century [eighteenth] became a trade in itself, aside from tailoring, because the breeches were commonly made of leather, deerskin or sheepskin, requiring different workmen."

Toward the end of this period with which we are dealing came the introduction of skin-tight riding-breeches. These were worn until the end of the century.

Linen.—Under the coat and vest the shirt was worn. The material from which these shirts were made ranged from finest Holland linen to coarse cotton or calico, according to the position and purse of the wearer. As has been seen, they were often worn without the vest (Plate XIX. Fig. 44 a). From under the

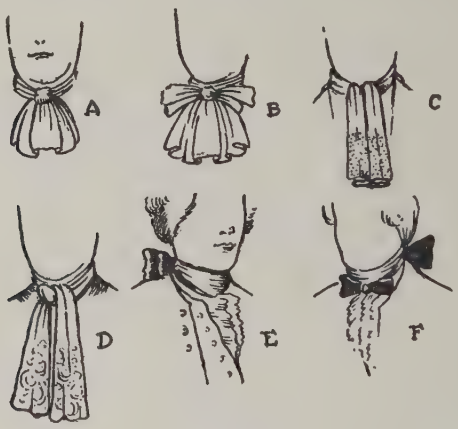
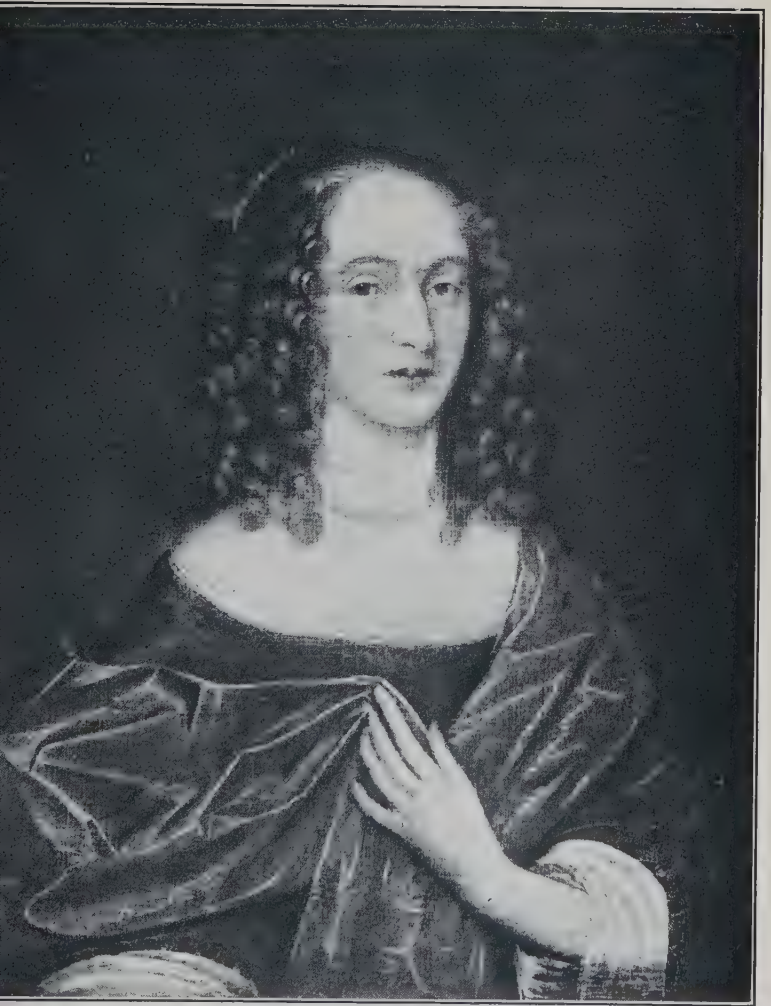


Figure 48

coat-sleeves appeared "the ruffles of lawn or lace at the wrist." In the early years of the period considerable of the shirt-sleeve as well as the ruffle appeared from under the great elbow cuffs (Plates XIX, XX, XXV. Fig. 43 a b); but later the cuff was brought closer to the wrist, the ruffle alone being exposed (Plates XVII, XVIII, XXVIII, XXXVI. Fig. 44 b. Fig. 45 a b).

As has been noted, the cravat or neck-cloth was worn contemporaneously with the falling band. (See Chapter II, Section iii, on Linen.) It seems to have



ATE XLII

Courtesy of Pilgrim Hall

PENELOPE WINSLOW (1633–1703)
Painted about 1651

been introduced into America about the year 1660, gradually supplanting the band in general form. Mrs. Earle mentions that "Governor Berkeley, of Virginia, ordered in 1660 a cravat which was to cost five pounds. Such rich neck wear as that could not have been found in New England at this date." (See also the portrait of Stephen Winthrop, Plate XIII.) In the wearing of these first cravats, the neck-cloth passed around the neck and was tied under the chin with "short-spreading ends" (Plate XIII B. Fig. 48 A). Sometimes the ends of the cravat were brought together and fastened at the throat with a ribbon bow (Plate XIII A. Fig. 48 B).

The next change in the cravat took place in the eighties, when the cravat no longer was gathered into the throat by a ribbon tie. The tie was lengthened and fell freely down the front in two long ends, which carried over the neck-band (Plates XVII, XXIV A. Fig. 48 C); or the ends were simply knotted with a single tie falling down in two straight ends (Plates XV A, XXI. Fig. 48 D). The long cravats worn in this manner were considered fashionable, particularly by the older men, who wore them well into the eighteenth century.

After 1692, the Steinkirk cravat (Fig. 44 A) appeared among the fashionably dressed men in France. It was soon accepted in England, and in both countries was occasionally worn by the women as well. From England, or from France, this fashion was introduced into the colonies, where it was worn by the young bucks and dandies. Here is an interesting example of

the way a new style may be brought about. Quoting from Planché:

> The battle of Steinkerque, 3rd. August 1692, introduced a new fashioned cravat, . . . It was reported that the French officers, dressing themselves in great haste for the battle, twisted their cravats carelessly round their necks; and in commemoration of the victory achieved by the Mareschal de Luxembourg over the Prince of Orange on that day, a similar negligent mode of wearing the *cravat* obtained for it the name of a Steinkerque.

Later the long loose ends were thrust through a button-hole of the coat. It does not appear, however, to have lasted in fashion much beyond the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

By 1715 the fashion of lace frills had arrived. These were attached to the shirt, appearing from under the neck-band, or stock, and so decorating the opening where the vest was left unbuttoned from the neck down over the breast (Plates XIX, XX, XXVI, etc. Fig. 45 A B). This style gradually supplanted all others in general popularity and was usually termed a jabot. With the introduction of the jabot one finds the "plain folded stocks buckled at the nape."

From France and the court of Louis XV came a most attractive and becoming fashion known as the "solitaire." The solitaire was a ribbon of black silk attached to the bag in which the back hair of the wig was placed (Fig. 52 D). In the beginning the ends of the solitaire were carried around to the front of the neck and were tucked into the shirt, or lost themselves among the frills of the lace jabot (Fig. 48 E). The

ends might also be caught in at the throat by a brooch. Around the forties, it was usual to bring the two ends of the solitaire forward, tying them in a bow-knot under the chin (Fig. 48 F). The carefully arranged wig, with its bag and solitaire, the jeweled buckle of the stock, the beauty of the frills of the jabot, and the fine ruffles worn at the wrist were all the marks of the gentlemen.

COIFFURES.—In the Virginia chapter, Section III, page 71, mention was made of the great periwigs that came into fashion at the now generally accepted date of 1660. In spite of the great discomfort, untidiness, and expense previously alluded to, that accompanied the fashion of wigs, the style continued to grow in favor until, as has been seen, wig-wearing was general among all classes by 1715.

Dating portraits with any degree of accuracy by the style of wig worn is not always possible. There was considerable overlapping in the different varieties, the older men often keeping to their periwigs and full-bottomed wigs long after queues, bags, and pigtails had become fashionable.

Turning to the early advertisements and accounts of these years, one soon discovers that a good wig, made up usually of human hair, was very costly, and at times hard to procure. This resulted in the barbers, for the cheaper grade of wigs, using horsehair, goat hair, and even "hair from the tails of cows," as a substitute.

Nor did the expense end with the buying of the wig, as great care was necessary to keep it presentable

and in good repair. This was usually done by the barber, who was often paid as high as "eight or ten pounds a year" for the care of a single wig. It is not surprising, then, that an article so generally in demand as a wig could be easily disposed of at a good profit, and was therefore especially attractive to thieves. It is doubtful if wigs were snatched from the heads of their owners as they walked along the streets of Boston, New York, or Philadelphia, as is often stated concerning English gentlemen in London; but that shops and private houses were broken into, the much-coveted wig the loot in mind, is known from the various advertisements, proclaiming the fact by offering rewards for their return, which appeared in the newspapers throughout the eighteenth century.

By 1670 the periwig had assumed quite large proportions (Fig. 20 B), the curls falling down the back and clustering over the shoulders. By 1675 it became even more huge and quite artificial in appearance. What is probably the most exaggerated form came into favor approximately around 1690, its chief characteristic being a well defined part in the center, with a high peak in either side of the part (Plates XVI, XVII, XVIII. Fig. 20 C), the ends of the wig being separated so as to fall over the shoulders in front (Plates XVII, XVIII). The curls hanging down over the shoulders in front were seldom seen after 1735.

THE PERUKE.—As the periwig continued to grow during the last years of the seventeenth century into a most cumbersome affair of corkscrew curls that hung well over the shoulders, the size and weight must have

PLATE XLIII

By kind permission of Mrs. William B. Scofield and Mr. Andrew Wolcott Sigourney and the Worcester Art Museum

MADAM ELIZABETH FREAKE WITH BABY MARY

Painted 1674

caused much weariness and discomfort. There is little doubt but that toward the end of the seventeenth century the colonial gentlemen tied their voluminous curls at the back of the head with a ribbon when engaged in hunting and riding, as did their English and French cousins.

About 1685, however, for informal occasions, the

FIGURE 49

periwig gave way to a less cumbersome wig known as the peruke (Fig. 49). The peruke was used for traveling, riding, and everyday wear. It was known as the campaign or traveling wig. Both the periwig and peruke continued in use until the middle of the eighteenth century. After 1735 the great curled periwig was no longer considered fashionable, and when it is found in portraits after this date it is the older men, especially those in the professions, and not the younger who are wearing them.

The peruke, campaign or traveling wig, then, is a less cumbersome wig worn in place of the curled and loosely hanging periwig. The curls that in the periwig

surrounded the face, in the peruke were carried farther back. The back, side locks were turned up into bobs or knots and tied with ribbons. A drawing of the portrait of Governor Ward shows him wearing the peruke (Fig. 49 B). The fullness is carried more to the back; the long lappets and curls, formerly hanging over the shoulders in front, are done away with.

Occasionally one sees in an old painting, as in the portrait of Johannes van Vechten (Plate XXI), painted in 1719, a gentleman wearing his own hair, and that unpowdered. This leads one to believe that even in this time of monstrous periwigs there were men who objected to the weight, expense, and discomfort of wig-wearing, and from the untidiness resulting from the use of hair powder.

THE RAMILLIES WIG.—The peruke, the traveling wig, and the short bob were all modifications of the great periwig. This tendency to further reduce the size of the wig is apparent as the eighteenth century advances. In Europe in the year 1706 the Battle of Ramillies was fought between the French and the English. The soldiery, with the evident intention of freeing themselves of the cumbersome full wigs, are said to have plaited them in a queue. They then placed a black tie at the top, also one at the bottom of the plait. This wig was known as the Ramillies wig (Fig. 50 A). It had quite a vogue in Europe, and soon, due to its comfort and popularity, found its way into the colonies. The Ramillies wig, which must have appeared in America as early as 1706 or 1707, is one of the earliest forms of the plaited queue. The queue was tied

with a fair sized bow at the nape of the neck, while the end of the plait was tied with a smaller one.

Plaited Queue Wig.—While these wigs were not at first considered for full dress, being only used for the hunt, riding, and everyday wear, yet they were the beginning of the small tie and queue wigs that by 1730 were all the fashion. The new wigs of this date,

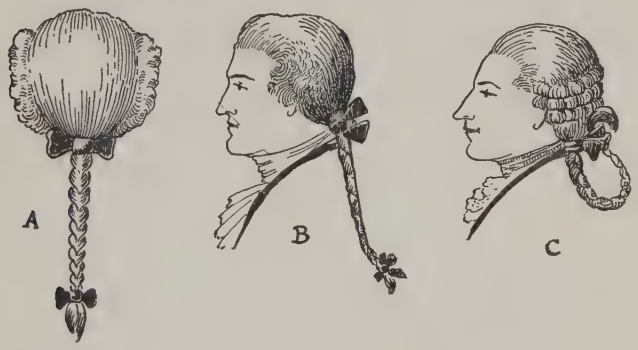


Figure 50

following the general style of the Ramillies wig, were dressed back from the forehead, arranged in a low toupet, and descended in the back in some form of queue tied with a ribbon.

The plaits, one or two in number, were accompanied by the usual toupet. Pigeon wings, puffs, and curls at the side of the head were much worn (Plates XXVIII, XXIX, XXXI, etc. Fig. 50 a). The plait, if long, was sometimes looped up and fixed at the back of the wig by combs or ribbons (Fig. 50 c).

From 1730 on, if one scans the advertisements in the newspapers and gazettes, or reads the many diaries

preserved to us from this period, one is confronted, as Dion Calthrop so aptly states, "with a veritable confusion of barbers' enthusiasms," derived from some slight trick of fashion in the arrangement of the curls, the puffs, or the queues. In the majority of cases it is impossible to more than surmise what many of these wigs were like. To mention a few, there was a wig called the comet, which evidently referred to a wig with a long tapering queue. Pigeon wings (Plate XXXI. Fig. 50 A B) referred to the manner of dressing the hair at the sides of the head; the cauliflower, to an arrangement of curls; and so on. Many of the names such as vallancy, the brush, the staircase, convey very little in the way of understanding.

Wigs, without doubt, demanded more care and attention than any other part of the gentleman's costume. On Saturdays they must be sent to the barbers, where they were brushed and curled. "For tightening the curls of wigs, small rollers of pipe clay (called variously Bilboquets or Roulettes), were used. The curls were wound tightly round these whilst very hot, or as some suppose when cold, and the whole then heated. This last plan, however, would have damaged the wig more than the former." Late on Saturday afternoons the barbers' boys would have been seen hurrying back and forth from the shop to the important customers delivering the wigs for Saturday night and Sunday wear. In the larger houses, as in Stenton, Germantown, Philadelphia, there is a recess built into the wall known as the wig closet. Here the gentlemen, with great cloths wrapped around their necks, their

Courtesy Pilgrim Hall

PLATE XLIV

ELIZABETH PADDY WENSLEY (1641– ?)
Painted about 1670–75

faces protected by glass cones, had their wigs, fresh from the barber, powdered by their valets.

The wigs of the majority of men, however, did not receive the same careful attention. In fact, many of the wigs worn by the men of the middle classes must from all accounts have been sorry affairs. Often the discarded head-coverings of the upper classes were won in public lotteries, or were bought at one of the many second-hand wig shops. They were brushed and combed back into some semblance of their previous grandeur, to do duty in a simpler walk of life.

In the colonies the gentlemen of fashion followed closely the latest styles in wigs in London and Paris. Orders from the colonies for wigs in the newest styles stood upon the books of the English wig-makers, to be sent to their patrons in America as soon as the new styles appeared. This was not confined to any one section of the country, but was general in the New England States, the Central and Southern States. Thus it was only a matter of weeks before the latest fashions in England appeared in the colonies.

The different varieties of queue wigs appearing almost simultaneously about 1725 can be placed under certain divisions for the convenience of study. One must realize all these styles were worn at the same time.

Tie-Wigs.—A very popular type of the queue wig, and one appearing quite often in old colonial portraits, is the tie-wig (Fig. 51). It is dressed, up until the middle of the century, with the early form of the low toupet. It is full at the sides, with the back curls gathered into a bunch and tied with a black ribbon

bow at the nape of the neck. About the middle of the eighteenth century the toupet was not worn so flat over the head as formerly, but had grown much higher, being dressed in quite a formal manner (Fig. 51 B).

Bag-Wigs.—The bag-wig was evidently a very convenient as well as fashionable way of wearing the hair. The back hair was placed in a square or rectangular

Figure 51

bag. The bag was then drawn tight with a drawstring, and a black bow tied at the nape of the neck (Fig. 52). The bag not only served as a decoration, but protected the coat from the grease and powder of the wig. Until 1740 the pigeon wings (Fig. 52 C) were worn over the ears, but after that date were replaced by puffs and rolls (Fig. 53 A). Around the forties the bag was often so large that it practically covered the shoulders of the wearer (Fig. 52 A). It was also to the bag that the silk ribbons of the solitaire were attached (Fig. 52 D).

Pigtails.—Pigtails were either one (Fig. 53 c) or two (Fig. 53 b) in number. They were tightly wrapped in a spiral manner with black silk ribbons. They were tied at the nape of the neck with a ribbon bow. The hair hung free at the end, coming from out the spiral

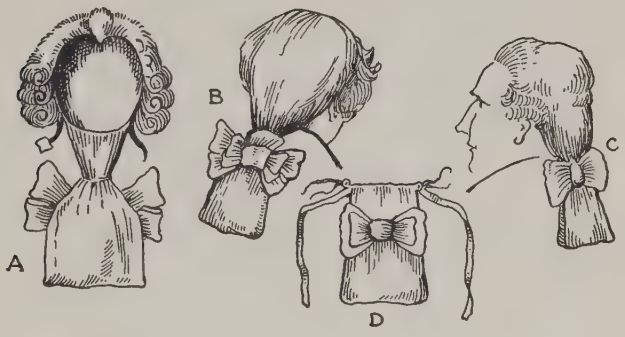


Figure 52

wrappings. They were particularly popular during the reign of George II.

Gradually, about 1770, many men ceased to shave their heads, and wigs, with the exception of those retained by professional men, went out of fashion. Men wore again their own hair, though it was dressed in much the same manner as the wigs—with puffs and rolls, with queues, pigtails, and bags. The hair, however, was still usually powdered. Powder, which had been worn for over one hundred years, finally went out of fashion during the seventeen nineties.

Head-gear.—By 1670 the brims of the hats had increased greatly in size. This tendency continued until, by 1675, the brims of the hats measured in width as

much as six to eight inches. In fact, the brims were so broad that through constant wear they lost their stiffness and had a tendency to fall about the face. To correct this the brims were rolled up, either at one side, in the front, or in the back (Fig. 43 A). They

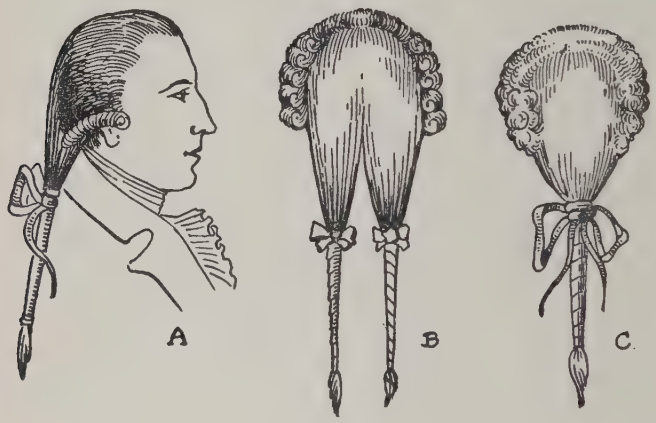


FIGURE 53

were also looped up and cocked in various ways. In this manner the cocked hat was introduced into fashion. A large feather, or plume, was usually placed around the crown. Hats continued to be decorated in this way until about 1680. Yet from the very beginning of this period the fashion of plumes, ribbons, and feathers began to wane in favor of the edge of the brim being bound with braid, galloon, or even lace. Another very fashionable way of decorating hats after plumes were discarded was to place "a fringe of ostrich fonds along the brim" (Fig. 44 A).

PLATE XLV

Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society

MRS. SIMON STODDARD (1650–1713)
Painted about 1670–75

Cocked hats continued to gain in favor, first with one, then with two cocks, until by 1690 it had developed into that most characteristic head-covering of the eighteenth century, the three-cornered cocked hat (Fig. 45 B). By 1700 they were generally worn, retaining their popularity until after the Revolution.

The cocked hat, as a rule, was more often carried under the arm than worn upon the head (Fig. 45 A). There were many different ways of cocking the hat. We are told "they are cocked up at all angles, turned off the forehead, turned up one side, turned up all around," until the whole appearance of the wearer might be changed from day to day by varying the angles of his cocked hat. The edge of the brim of the cocked hat was usually trimmed with metal lace or galloon. There is, however, a marked uniformity in cocked hats until toward the end of this period, when from 1770 to 1775 the front of the hat was carried up in a high peak (Fig. 46 A).

For indoor wear, there were the négligé caps and turbans. They were worn with the morning gowns or banyans, which they usually accompanied. The turbans became so popular that not only were they worn for négligé, but on many informal occasions as a blessed relief from the hot wigs. In order to understand this continual wearing of caps and turbans and wigs, one must realize that the head under the wig was kept closely shaven. With this protection removed, the wearer seems to have been extremely sensitive to cold and drafts. So true was this, that men wore nightcaps upon retiring, and whenever the wig was removed,

whether indoors or out, some kind of head-covering was immediately donned. This was usually the turban (Plates XXXIII, XXXIV). The turban, then, was for informal wear, and was used to supplement the wig, so heavy, hot, and covered with powder. How important a part of the costume it became can be judged by the number of fashionable gentlemen who continually sat for their portraits dressed in banyan and turban. The turban was usually worn perched upon one side of the head in a "very jaunty manner." Small flat-brimmed hats and round caps edged with fur were worn in place of the cocked hat by travelers and by the sporting and riding fraternity.

Stockings.—The stockings worn in the early part of this period were carried up under the full-cut baggy breeches, and evidently were fastened above or below the knee with garters, probably bands or ribbons; these were embellished on the outside with bunches of ribbons (Fig. 43 A). Stockings could be either worn pulled up over the knee under the breeches (Plates XXIX, XXX, XXXV, etc. Fig. 44 A B), or pulled up over the breeches at the knee, then gartered below and rolled above the knee (Fig. 45 A). This style came into fashion about 1685, lasting until the middle of the eighteenth century. One reads that "In 1739 russet and green were favorite colors. By revolutionary times, white silk hose were worn by the modish beaux. Stockings for dress occasions were decorated at the ankles with gold and silver clocks." The fashion lasted from about 1715 to 1790.

In 1731 there appeared in "The Boston News Let-

ter" an advertisement for stirrup hose. Stirrup hose were provided with wide tops, and at that time were no longer in general use. They were probably used to pull on over the stocking and knees of the breeches to protect them from the boot saddle when riding horseback. Knitted homespun stockings, leather stockings, cloth stockings, and "good knit worsted stockings" are all mentioned during this period, and were worn by men and boys who could not afford the expensive silk hose. Other varieties are "Diced hose, masqueraded hose, silk clocked and chevered hose, fine four-threaded Strawbridge knit hose, yarn hose, ribbed, pointed chiveled worsted hose, Jersey-knit hose."

Foot-gear.—At the beginning of this period under consideration (1675), shoes still retained their red heels, the tongue rising high up over the instep (Fig. 43 A). Shoe roses were no longer met with. In their place the shoe was fastened by strings or ties (Fig. 43 A), or by buckles (Fig. 44 A). The buckles were small at first (Fig. 44 A), being strapped high up on the instep, and were either square or oval in form. In fact, from 1680 on, buckles seem to have replaced all other forms of fastening and gradually became larger. With the high-heeled, high-tongued shoes one finds, as a general rule, the square ending to the toe, this fashion lasting throughout the first quarter of the eighteenth century.

From 1720 on, the high tongues were gradually shortened, and the decidedly square toes gave way to a shoe with a more natural and rounded shape to the toe (Fig. 44 B). About 1740 the short-tongue, natural-

shaped shoe, with a large buckle over the instep, took its place (Fig. 45 A B. Fig 46 A).

Boots were not a part of the fashionable everyday costume during this period, but were worn more for riding, traveling, and hunting. The favorite boots of

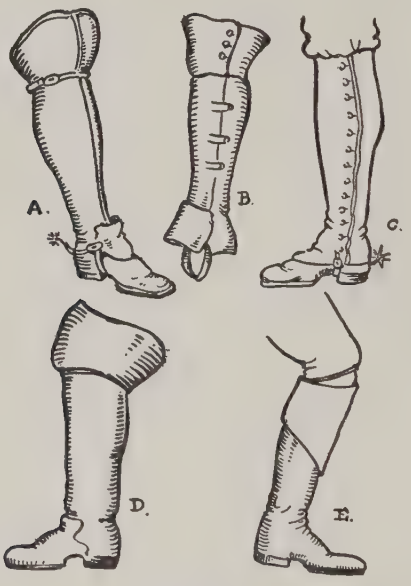


FIGURE 54

the last part of the seventeenth century and the first part of the eighteenth century were the heavy, cumbersome, rigid "jack-boots." They came into fashion on the Continent about 1660, but it appears they did not come to the colonies until several years later. By 1675, however, they were quite generally worn. The jack-

PLATE XLVI *Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art*

MISTRESS ANN GALLOWAY

By Gustavus Hesselius. Painted about 1721–25

boot (Fig. 54 D) was made of stiff leather from the ankle to just below the knee, where it swelled into a large cup. They were usually provided with large spur leathers over the instep and to which were attached the spurs. They seem to have gradually lost favor with the gentry toward the close of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. From about 1720 on, they diminished in size and rigidity, until a boot is evolved, built upon the same lines, but lighter and more flexible, fitting more to the shape of the leg (Fig. 54 A). A small strap was often buckled around the boot just under the knee to hold it more securely in place.

Over the instep was the spur leather. The boots were probably worn for horseback until the Revolution. From these light jack-boots were developed, about 1700, leggings of leather called spatterdashes. They were often cut in imitation of the lighter jack-boots (Fig. 54 B). Buttons and buckles down the side made them fit close to the leg. They were worn over the shoes. Where the legging met the shoe the joint was masked by a large spur leather, making it difficult not to confuse them with the regular jack-boot. Spatterdashes in the form of high leather leggings were also extensively worn (Fig. 54 C). They buckled under the shoe and buttoned up the side. Mention is made of "Thread and cotton Spatterdashes." The spatterdashes were used to protect the stockings in wet and stormy weather and were worn especially by sportsmen until the end of the century.

Top-boots made their appearance some time in "the

latter half of the century," and because of their elegant and dandified appearance became exceedingly popular with the young bloods. The top-boot (Fig. 54 E), the lower part of which being fitted tightly over the leg, was made of black leather, usually polished; while the tops, that came from a little below the knee to the middle of the lower leg, were of either brown or white leather. So exceedingly trim were these boots that they became "a portion of their walking dress."

ACCESSORIES.—The baldric or shoulder-belt (Fig. 42. Fig. 43 A) was still worn during the early years of this period. From it was suspended the small sword. The fashion for baldrics seems to have gone out with the closing years of the seventeenth century, and in its place one finds the sling or the frog appearing from under the vest, and to which the dress sword was attached. The hilt of the sword was often decorated with a large bow-knot of ribbons.

Muffs, both large and small, fashioned out of either cloth or fur, or cloth edged with fur, were carried by men throughout this period.

The taking of snuff was indulged in by most gentlemen of the time, and the handsome snuff-box was to the man of fashion what the fan was to the lady. From the pocket of the coat would appear a corner of a fine lace handkerchief. Probably in the other pocket resided the great comb used for dressing and putting the periwig in order. This was often done in public. Fob ribbons from which hung clusters of seals, exquisitely cut, were attached to the watch. Fobs appeared during the forties.

Growth and Change in the Colonies

II. COSTUME OF THE WOMEN

1675–1775

During the last quarter of the seventeenth century America was beginning to sense the increasing wealth and prosperity that were to make life in the colonies during the eighteenth century, until the Revolution, the most comfortable and prosperous in her history. A growing maritime commerce between Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston tended to bring these different sections of the country together, unifying the ideas in dress and fashion as between the different elements—the Puritans of New England, the Dutch of New York, the Quakers and "world's people" of Pennsylvania, and the aristocratic landowners of the South. Thus, dress in America, from the beginning of this period, tended to be more uniform throughout the country. Commerce and intercourse were extremely active and continuous between the colonies and the mother-country, London dictating styles and fashions to America until the eve of the Revolution. Speaking of the dress in the colonies, Frank Alvah Parsons says:

> The instinct for dress, the fundamental desire for show and personal attraction were no different; the determination not to be outshone and the admiration for the latest and prettiest fashions from England were almost universal, and even where there was a pretence to plain living and an outward expression of piety through its manifestation, the author fails to find any considerable number of instances of individuals who resisted falling into the ways of the world at the first perfectly good opportunity. The few isolated instances

are so small in number, that "the exception proves the rule."

As the eighteenth century advanced the Colonies naturally grew in wealth, their commerce (particularly with Britain) increased, and the awakening of a national consciousness resulted. Still, however, regarding with respect the established modes of the mother country, they strove in every way to obtain through friends who were still in England, through colonists who visited the homeland, and through imported ideas in the shape of clothes, to imitate the fashions in a manner becoming their new ideal of national capability. This new national consciousness furnished a stimulus to common desires, and costumes waxed exceeding rich, varied, and showy.

In all this striving to imitate the English styles the fashion dolls, dressed in the latest modes, played a large and most important part. It was by means of dressed dolls that many of the newest fashions first made their appearance in the colonies. Fashion "babies" were dressed by the mantua-makers of Paris; from there sent to the eagerly awaiting and expectant women of London. Many of these dolls, after having set the new styles for the fashionably dressed English ladies, together with new dolls fashioned by the London milliners, continued their journey to the colonies. In this way many new fashions were brought from France and England to far-away America. After they had served their purpose, and their little gowns were no longer capable of stimulating the feminine taste, these dolls were turned over to the children to play with. Thus, in time, many of them were destroyed, partially accounting for the comparatively few survivals of this host of small invaders.

The most fashionable dress worn by women in this

PLATE XLVII

Kind permission of Thomas B. Clarke and the Pennsylvania Museum

MARGARET HAMILTON ALLEN (Died 1760)
By James Claypole. Painted 1746

present period was the sacque. This garment, hanging from the shoulders over the large hooped petticoat, passed through various changes, retaining its popularity from about 1720 to 1777. The most usual dress, however, and one continually met with throughout these years, was a dress with a long-waisted bodice, which came to a point in front, the neck bared by a medium horizontal or round *décolletage*, the skirt full. It was in style at the end of the previous period, and carried over into these years with only slight modifications (Fig. 23 A B). "There was," says Mrs. Earle, "a simple dress, which was worn fifty years ago, before the Watteau dress [the sacque referred to above] was known, was not vanquished while the coquettish French robe was the rage, and continued to be worn after the sacque disappeared, and until the short Empire robes were the mode. I do not mean, of course, that it never varied, but it varied little. It was rather plain, gathered, full skirt, a pointed waist, low in the neck, with a ruffled elbow sleeve." Many examples of this style of dress were seen in the eighteenth century (Plates XLIX, L, LI, LII, etc.).

Bodice.—Starting with the bodice from the point left off in the Virginia chapter, one finds the bodice still low cut and long-waisted, coming to a point in front. If fastened down the front, the opening was embellished with bow-knots (Fig. 55 A). The opening around the neck was generally softened by allowing the border of the chemise to appear above the bodice, or, above the bodice, the neck could be covered with a fine scarf or folded kerchief. The horizontal, low-cut bodice was

often edged with a lace band or a lace collar (Plate XLIV. Fig. 55 A), a fashion lasting until the end of the reign of James II. Sleeves to the wrist were no longer fashionable after 1660. In their place are found the elbow sleeves or sleeves that only reach midway

FIGURE 55

between the shoulder and the bend of the arm (Plate XLIV. Fig. 55 A B etc.). Appearing from under the sleeve of the bodice is the full sleeve of the fine chemise, ending in a ruffle of lace. Elbow sleeves with their

accompanying ruffles remained in fashion throughout the period (Plates L, LI, LIV, etc.).

The long-waisted bodice might be simply decorated down the front with a band of lace (Plate XLIV), or it might be left open and worn over a stomacher, being held together in front by lacing or by bow-knots of ribbon, which decreased in size as they descended from the neck to the waist. They were known as échelles (Plate LX. Fig. 55 A), and were popular throughout this period.

Later forms of the bodice, and the one met with from 1700 to the Revolution, differed only slightly from the earlier styles. They were long-waisted and worn over a tightly corseted figure. Sometimes they descended to a point in front (Plates LVI, LX). Again, they might be rounded about the waist (Plates L, LI). The bodice was often fastened down the back, leaving the front perfectly plain, except where it is relieved by a lace ruffle at the opening of the *décolletage* (Plates L, LI, LV, LVI, LVII); or softened by the lawn chemise (Plates XLVIII, LVII, LVIII B). A ribbon bow-knot was commonly placed at the top of the bodice in front (Plates L, LI, LVI). A ribbon might also be tied around the waist in a bow-knot, usually a little toward the right side (Plates L, LI). The sleeves of elbow length were similar in arrangement throughout these years, with only slight variations, the fine linen or lawn sleeve, with its accompanying ruffles and laces, appearing from under the bodice sleeve, and falling in rich clusters around the elbow and over the forearm (Plates L, LI, LIV. Fig. 55 B. 56). The ruffles of lace,

shorter on the upper part of the arm, were usually graduated in length as they fell away (Plate LX). Besides these charming elbow sleeves, one finds, about 1770, a long sleeve to the wrist coming into general wear.

Skirts and Petticoats.—The skirt in the year 1675 was still gathered, as formerly, into small close pleats about the waist (Fig. 23 A). It was, however, usually left open in the front, exposing the petticoats. When split up the front in this manner it was fashionable to loop the skirt up about the hips, holding it in place with knots of ribbon (Fig. 55 A). Until the introduction of hoops and panniers, the fullness of the skirt gathered up about the hips was further exaggerated by a small bustle. Both skirt and petticoat at this time were provided with a train.

Hoops came into fashion between 1710 and 1715. Planché says: "It is in the reign of Queen Anne that the hoop starts forth again as a novelty." Sir Roger de Coverley in "The Spectator," 1711, describes the new fashion thus: "You see, sir, my great great great grandmother has on the newfashioned petticoat, except that the modern is gathered at the waist; my grandmother appears as if she stood in a large drum, whereas the ladies now walk as if they were in a go-cart." The hoop-skirt was a circular arrangement of whalebone. The whalebone hoops started at the waist, gradually becoming larger at intervals as they descended. They might be attached to a canvas petticoat; or later, about the middle of the century, they were made in two side pieces to enable the wearer to handle them more easily.

It appears they were quite round and funnel-shaped at first; but during the next few years they became more and more flattened in front and back, projecting out in varying widths on both sides over the hips

FIGURE 56

(Plates L, LI, LIX. Fig. 55 B. Fig. 56). Instead of forming a circle, the shape of the skirt was now more oval, in which fashion they were worn throughout the period.

With the introduction of hoops the trains gradually disappeared, until in a few years skirt and petticoat

touched the ground all the way around. From 1730 on, the skirt and petticoat were not unusually of ankle length, especially for everyday wear; while for dress occasions they reached the ground (Fig. 55 B. Fig. 56). It is strange so few of the paintings show the skirt opened in front and displaying the fine petticoat, so general at this time (Plates LII, LIII B). The skirt is more often shown closed (Plates LI, LVIII, LIX). When the skirt was split up the front it might be gathered full over the hips, from there hanging free, revealing a V-shaped section of the petticoat (Fig. 56). Another manner of wearing the split skirt was to gather it up in the old manner and fasten it in panniers at the side (Fig. 55 B).

Gowns.—When the bodice and skirt are made in one piece it is referred to as a gown. The bodice of the gown, however, did not differ from the bodice made to wear separately with a skirt. The skirt of the gown might hang from the waist over the hooped petticoat (Fig. 56), or could be looped back over the hips with "narrow braid and buttons" (Fig. 55 B). The *décolletage*, from the early years of the eighteenth century, tended to a round (Plates XLIX, L, etc.) or a square cut neck (Plates LII, LV, etc.). The bodice of the gown was often left open in front, where it was worn over a richly embroidered or laced stomacher, the stomacher being fastened to the two sides of the bodice (Plates XLVII, LX. Fig. 56). The stomacher was further embellished with a row of ribbons down the front, the échelles, and the edge of the *décolletage* was decorated with a band of lace.

A most fashionable dress for women of the eighteenth century, from about 1720 until the end of the Revolution, was the loose-bodied sacque, or full gown, that hung from the shoulders with great fullness in the back,

FIGURE 57

spreading out over the hooped petticoat. About 1740 the fullness of the gown in the back was brought into a series of box pleats, attached to the top of the bodice at the neck. From here they descended to about the waist, where they lost themselves in the fullness of the skirt. (Plate LIII A. Fig. 57. Fig. 58). The sacque

might be worn either open all the way down the front, exposing the petticoat and stomacher, or open to about the waist (Fig. 57 A); or, again, closed. The sleeves

FIGURE 58

followed the general fashion, coming to about the elbow, and finished with ruffles.

This French sacque is generally spoken of as the "Watteau gown," and the box pleating in the back as "Watteau pleats." A more suitable name for it, how-

A

B

Kind permission of Thomas B. Clarke and the Pennsylvania Museum

WILLIAMINA MOORE (1727–1809)
By Robert Feke. Painted 1746

SUSANNAH DE LANCEY WARREN
(Died 1771)

ever, is the robe *à la française*, for as Messrs. Kelly and Schwabe point out, in speaking of this gown, "At first hanging loose behind, the sacque in the thirties merges into the robe *à la française*, the gown with the misnamed 'Watteau pleats' (which in their full developed form are never found in Watteau's pictures)." The body of the gown is made at times to fit the figure quite close, with the two pleats hanging down the back, merging from below the waist into the fullness of the hooped skirt (Fig. 57 B. Fig. 58 A). Later in the period the box pleating, instead of hanging freely from the neck, was brought in and sewn flat to the back of the bodice.

From France came a new gown, the polonaise, that was to be exceedingly popular as well as fashionable in the colonies during those years just previous to the Revolution, and during the early years of the new Republic. In France it was a less fashionable gown than the robe *à la française*, the latter being the gown of ceremony in that country until hoops went out of fashion in the eighties. The body of the gown fitted close to the tightly laced figure and came to a point in front (Fig. 59 A B). Two pleats, or ruffles, came from the back of the neck over the shoulders, from where they fell away into a rounded front. The full skirt in back was sometimes looped up with ribbons, forming three festoons in the back, or was allowed to hang uninterrupted over the hooped petticoat (Fig. 59 B). The petticoat, after being hooped out from the waist, fell quite vertical (Fig. 59 A). It reached to a little above the ankle, the hem usually embellished with a

wide box pleating. The bodice was laced over a stomacher, with a "silk cord through eyelet holes." The gown was cut low, baring the shoulders (Fig. 59 A).

FIGURE 59

The neck, however, was often covered with a folded shawl or fichu of lace.

RIDING COSTUME.—The first means of traveling and of communication between the different settle-

ments in the colonies were either by following the streams and rivers in boats and canoes, or on foot, threading the forestways along old Indian trails. Gradually the trails and blazed paths through the forest widened into roads, making horseback riding possible. Even after carriages and stage-coaches came into general use, horseback-riding remained by far the most popular way of getting around until the close of the eighteenth century.

Seated apillion was the usual way women and children rode about in the early days, the custom for women to ride alone coming in "late in the seventeenth century." The pillion, however, remained in general use until the end of the eighteenth century. The pillion was a leather or padded cushion on a wooden frame, measuring about a foot and a half in length and ten inches to a foot in width. A sort of platform stirrup, or footboard, hung from the offside. It was strapped to the horse's back just behind the saddle. A metal handle, or strap, was fastened to the framework of the pillion, to which the rider could cling for safety. In place of this the pillion rider sometimes steadied herself by placing her arm around the rider, or by clinging to a heavy leather belt strapped around the man's waist for this purpose.

There was no specially designed riding costume worn by the women in these early days. They protected their garments from being splashed with mud and dirt by donning a cloak and pulling over their skirts a garment called a safeguard, weather skirt or riding petticoat, which was made out of some stout material, usually a

heavy linen. Safeguards seem to have been worn as a protection as long as women rode horseback. While the safeguard served for all general purposes in the colonies, there appeared late in the seventeenth century advertisements in the London papers, as well as in writings, in letters, and diaries, descriptions of a new fashionable costume especially designed for hunting and riding, which soon found its place in the wardrobe of the well-dressed woman of America.

One of the earliest descriptions of a costume that might be considered as being made especially for riding, appears in Pepys's Diary under date of July 13, 1663. Pepys, while strolling in the park, saw the king and queen riding by, and upon his return home made the following entry relative to the riding costume worn by the queen: ". . . a white laced waistcoat and crimson short pettycoat, . . . in this dress, with her hat cocked and a red plume." In a news letter of the year 1682 the ladies of the English court are described as taking the air on horseback "attired very rich in close-bodied coats, hats and feathers with short perukes."

Planché also refers to an English riding-dress that was advertised for sale in 1711, the costume consisting of "coat, waistcoat, petticoat, hat and feather all well laced with silver."

Many advertisements appeared in the London newspapers of the eighteenth century, advertising lost or stolen garments, and among the many descriptions, the following, published in 1712, describes a lady's riding costume: "A coat and waistcoat of blue camlet trimmed and embroidered with silver, with a petticoat of the

PLATE XLIX

By kind permission Thomas B. Clarke and the Pennsylvania Museum

JANE BROWN (1734–1802)
By John S. Copley. Painted 1756

same stuff, by which alone her sex was recognized, as she wore a smartly cocked hat, edged with silver and rendered more sprightly by a feather, while her hair, curled and powdered, hung to a considerable length down her shoulders, tied like that of a rakish young gentleman, with a long streaming scarlet band."

One of the earliest references made to the riding-habit appears in 1727, which reads: ". . . riding habits with hats and feathers and periwigs." During the eighteenth century, riding-habits were called by various names, the Brunswick, introduced in England about 1750, being the one most generally met with. As in the case of those previously described, it was made in the masculine mode of coat and waistcoat.

Along with other imported clothes came riding costumes and habits. The two figures in riding costumes (Fig. 60 A B) illustrate the equestrian dress as similar to the descriptions given above. In Figure 60 A the coat, built upon masculine lines, is brought in close to the tightly laced waist, with skirts that flare out over the full petticoat. The sleeves are turned back into great elbow cuffs, held in position by loops and buttons. Under the coat is worn, in place of the waistcoat, a low cut bodice. A cocked hat, decorated with lace fonds and plumes, very mannish in character, is placed upon her head, completely hiding the hair in front and at the sides.

A riding-habit decidedly more masculine in appearance is shown in Figure 60 B. The coat, tailored upon straighter lines, is not brought in so tightly to the waist, and is worn over a waistcoat that ends a few inches

above the line of the coat. At her neck is a stock with the two ends of the cravat hanging down over the waistcoat. A cocked hat rests upon a peruke, or upon her own hair dressed to resemble the fashionable man-

A B

FIGURE 60

nish wig. The back hair was occasionally placed in a bag and the solitaire worn over the cravat. For a description of women's riding costume up until the opening of the nineteenth century see Chapter VII, Section II, page 276.

Cloaks.—The cloak, in one form or another, never lost favor in America from the time of the first settlements until the opening years of the nineteenth century. They were so extremely comfortable and warm,

Figure 61

so easily thrown about the shoulders, that even when more fashionable garments such as coats, jackets, sacques, and pelisses came in, cloaks were never discarded. The majority of cloaks worn during the eighteenth century were of a scarlet color, lined with gay and colorful materials. A certain confusion sometimes exists regarding the difference between the hood with a cape attached and the cloak. It is difficult at times to distinguish by name and description the various forms. The long cloak of about three-quarter

length, or longer, with or without a hood attached, and varying hardly at all from the early seventeenth-century style, was worn all through the eighteenth century (Fig. 61 c). Still another style, and an exceedingly popular one, was in the form of a short cloak made of silk, with a hood attached. It was called a capuchin, and was worn throughout the eighteenth century. In a way, it resembled the old medieval hood of that name, the latter having been patterned after that worn by the Capuchin friar. The cloak part had two long points hanging down in front (Fig. 61 B). Then there was a cloak in the form of a shawl, called a rocket. We are told: "You meet all sorts of country women wrapped up in the mantles called West Country Rockets, a large mantle doubled together, of a sort of serge; some are linsey-woolsey, and a deep fringe or fag at the lower end; these hang down, some to their feet, some only just below the waist; in the summer they are all in white garments of this sort, in winter they are in red ones." There was also the scarlet cloak, called a cardinal, evidently a warmer and cheaper garment than the capuchin. It was usually made out of a woolen material. Both the capuchin and the cardinal were extremely popular in the mid-century years. Another late eighteenth-century garment, and a particularly fashionable one as well, was the pelisse. It might or might not be provided with sleeves. When made without sleeves it was usually termed a cloak (Fig. 61 A). It was always fashionable for dress occasions and was made in the form of a loose cloak, with slits in front through which to thrust the arms. At the neck

PLATE L *Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*

MISS MARGARET SYLVESTER CHESEBROUGH (1719–1782)
By Joseph Blackburn. Painted 1754

there was a broad flat collar or a hanging hood. The more expensive pelisses were trimmed with fur. There were also short, full jackets with elbow sleeves, having a broad turned-back collar at the neck. This jacket was popular from about the twenties.

Coiffures.—The hair, which had been dressed, from 1660 on, with wired-out curls that hung from the side of the head (Plate XLII), was during the seventies brought in closer to the face. This manner of dressing the hair persisted during the first years of this period until the new fashion of arranging the hair over the brow and closer to the side of the head came in about 1680 (Fig. 62 A). Gradually the hair was dressed higher and higher, until by 1690 it was dressed over a wire frame, rising in two tall peaks above the brow. At the same time it was brought much closer to the side of the head (Fig. 62 B). One or two long curls hung from the back of the head over the shoulders. This mode of dressing the hair, decidedly French, was introduced into England and from there into the colonies. In America it never seems to have in any way approached the exaggerated height it assumed in France, and often in England.

Shortly after 1700 the style of high-dressed coiffures gave way to a fashion wherein the hair was dressed close to the head and off the face. This popular fashion lasted until the late sixties (Plates L, LI, LV, LVI, LVII, etc.), with only the slight variations that came with dressing the hair over a roll in the form of a pompadour (Fig. 62 C). Long loose curls might fall over the shoulder. Plates XLVIII B, XLIX, LIII will

give an excellent idea of the manner of dressing the hair during these years. In Europe powder for the hair, used sparingly in the opening years of the eighteenth century, increased as the years progressed. In America, however, it was only occasionally used until the middle

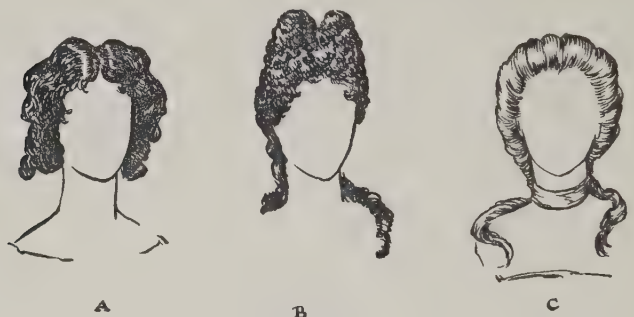


FIGURE 62

of the century. From 1750 on, it became quite general, especially for dress occasions, until it went out of fashion in 1785.

About 1760 the hair was dressed in a high pompadour with a symmetrical arrangement of curls at the sides and over the top of the head. Pearls were usually worked into the coiffure. One or two curls might hang from the back of the head over the neck and shoulders (Fig. 57 A).

Gradually toward 1770 the colonial ladies dressed their hair higher and higher (Plate LXII) in imitation of the great coiffures worn by the French and English women. In France, where the fashion originated, and where, after 1775, it was carried to the most unheard-of exaggerations, there are plenty of drawings, car-

toons, and paintings from which to visualize these exotic head-dresses, the same being true of England. In America, however, one has to depend mostly upon extracts from diaries and letters; from advertisements of the various parts and compositions that went into their make-up, which appeared in the newspapers; and from the few existing books treating with the "art" of hairdressing. While there is no doubt the ladies of America followed from a distance the fashions of France and England, there is no evidence leading to a belief that they at any time carried these towering coiffures to the same extent.

French ladies, or their hairdressers, were continually inventing new styles, and the names given to these new coiffures were extremely ridiculous. The hair was dressed "butterfly fashion," "sportsman in the bush," "foaming torrents," "coiffure coiled sentiments." One is told that the *pouf au sentiment*, made up of various ornaments such as birds, butterflies, and cupids, cut out of cardboard, were assembled together with twigs of trees and even vegetables into varied compositions over the mass of waving curls of hair. This coiffure was much in fashion in court circles. "The comet of 1773," states Challamel, "gave its name to a certain head-dress, in which flame-coloured ribbons played a striking part. The *coiffure à la Belle Poulé* consisted of a ship in full sail, reposing on a sea of thick curls." He further states that "the scaffolding of gauze, flowers and feathers was raised to such a height that no carriages could be found lofty enough for ladies' use. The occupants were obliged either to put their heads

out of the windows, or to kneel on the carriage floor so as to protect the fragile structures." Read says: "The bodies of these enormous creations were formed of tow, over which the hair was drawn in great curls, rolls, bobs, etc., with false hair added, the whole freely plastered over with powder, pomatum, etc., decorated with huge bows, ribbons, feathers and flowers."

One of the most astonishing circumstances connected with the fashion of this curious head-dress was the agony and distress gone through by the women in having their heads made up, let alone the discomfort experienced in trying to rest in them at night. For "heads" were supposed to last for some days. The most revolting part, however, was the general lack of cleanliness of the various materials that went into the composition, making their heads itch and burn; for we read: "Heads usually lasted a matter of three weeks, when, . . . 'twould be dangerous, madam, to delay longer the opening of your head.' We get a glimpse of the possible state of a lady's head at the expiration of that time, from the many receipts and advertisements for the destruction of insects in the magazines of the period."

Returning now to America, one may form some idea of the fashion of heads from the diary of Anna Green Winslow. In the year 1772 she writes:

I had my HEDDUS roll on, aunt Storer said it ought to be made less, Aunt Deming said it ought not to be made at all. It makes my head itch, & ach, & burn like anything Mamma. This famous roll is not made *wholly* of a red *Cow Tail*, but is a mixture of that, & horsehair (very course) & a little human

PLATE LI

By kind permission of Richard C. Greenleaf and the Metropolitan Museum of Art

MARY BROWN GREENLEAF (1728–1807)
By Joseph Blackburn. Painted 1757

hair of yellow hue, that I suppose was taken out of the back part of an old wig. But D—— made it (our head) all carded together and twisted up. When it first came home, aunt put it on, & my new cap on it, she then took up her apron & mesur'd me, & from the roots of my hair on my forehead to the top of my notions, I mesur'd above an inch longer than I did downwards from the roots of my hair to the end of my chin. Nothing renders a young person more amiable than virtue & modesty without the help of fals hair, red *Cow tail*, or D—— (the barber).

An incident chronicled in "The Boston Gazette" of May, 1771, tells of a young woman out driving in her carriage. The horses became startled and she was thrown from her equipage into the street, damaging her great head-dress, the greater part of it in fact being torn off. The inside of the head proved a revelation, for it was filled with tow, wool, yarn, curled hair, and hay.

A good example of a colonial head-dress of about 1775 is seen in Figure 63 A. The hair is arranged for full dress and is carried over a framework of wire, or rolled over a high cushion and powdered. It was usual to arrange a twisted muslin head-dress in the form of a small turban on top of the "creation." Arranged on the left side of the turban might be a bunch of artificial flowers. In this round type of head-dress two curls might hang from the back over the shoulders.

The hair, instead of being built up in this rounded form, might be brushed up in a severe manner from the sides of the face and from the back and front of the head, its severe lines only softened by a few curls or puffs over the ears. (Fig. 63 B C). The hair would

then be plastered with pomades or powder washes to the scaffolding already referred to. If there was not sufficient natural hair to accomplish this, false hair would be added. In the top of this coiffure might be placed feathers or plumes that gently swayed back and

FIGURE 63

forth in the breeze. To Marie Antoinette is accredited the fashion for plumes not only in France but throughout Europe and even far-distant America. The queen, a leader in all fashions, one day upon finishing her toilet placed, in a spirit of play, two peacock feathers and several ostrich plumes in her already elaborate coiffure. The king, Louis XVI, happened in at this moment and expressed his admiration for this new effect, stating he had never seen the queen look so well. Marie Antoinette, pleased by the flattery of the king, appeared at court that evening with feathers and plumes waving from the top of her head-dress. Im-

mediately feathers came into fashion, and on state occasions the great rooms of the palaces and châteaux looked like forests of waving plumes.

Head-coverings.—Except for hoods (Plate XLV) and kerchiefs (Plates XLIII, XLIV), the hair as a rule was left uncovered until about 1690, when a new decoration appeared for the coiffure called at first the "fontange"; toward 1690, the "commode-fontange." To what extent this new head-dress was worn in America it is difficult to state. It does not, so far as one is aware, appear in any portraits painted of American women. Mrs. Earle states: ". . . nor have I found a reference to this headdress in letters written to or by persons living in America at the time it was worn." It was, however, fashionable in England shortly after its introduction in France, and it seems only reasonable to assume that a style so popular in England, where the fashions were set for the colonies, would sooner or later have appeared in America. If it is agreed, then, that the fontange was worn here, the date of its introduction should be placed shortly after 1690. It would have gone out of fashion probably early in the eighteenth century. Just as the Steinkirk cravat was introduced into fashion through an incident developing from the hasty arrangement of the cravat on the eve of battle, so was the fontange, described as a "modish topknot," based upon a similar whim. The new mode of decorating the hair received its name from Mademoiselle de Fontange, and the incident that brought this new creation into fashion is related by Planché as follows:

The story goes that one day when hunting with the King, the wind disarranged her [Mademoiselle de Fontange's] hair, which fell about her shoulders, upon which she took off one of her garters and tied it up hastily with that. His Majesty was so pleased with the effect, that he requested her to continue to wear her hair dressed in that fashion. Next day, of

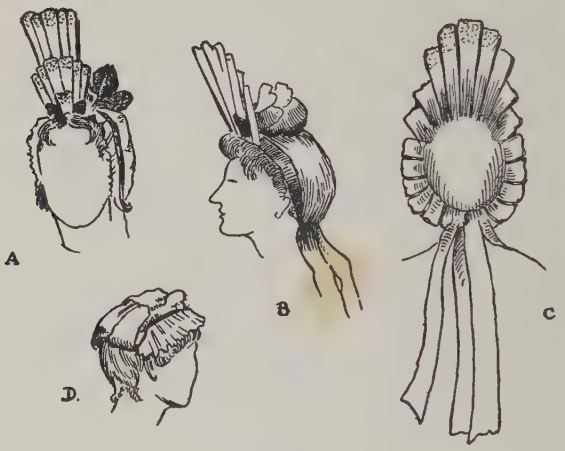


FIGURE 64

course, the ladies of the court appeared with their hair bound up with a ribbon with a bow in front, which attained the name of "fontange."

This was only the beginning of the fashion. It was to be greatly elaborated upon by the addition of a lace or lawn cap, fitting over the back of the head, and trimmed with lace, frills, and ribbon, the most characteristic feature being a series of graduating tiers of lawn and lace rising in the front and leaning obliquely forward (Fig. 64 A B C). Streamers or lappets could hang down the back (Fig. 64 C), or could be dispensed

PLATE LII *Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Museum of Art*

Rich figured gown, the skirt with a V-shaped opening in front

with (Fig. 64 A). This new addition was known as the commode. When in addition to the commode the ribbon and bow-knot of the fontange is retained, the combination received the name of the "commode-fontange" (Fig. 64 A).

Whether or not the commode-fontange was worn in all its grandeur by American women is problematical. Yet surely the small linen or lace cap, appearing shortly after 1700 upon the low-dressed heads and lasting until the hair began to be dressed in tower form, is a survival of the commode without "the special features" (Plates XLVII, XLVIII A, LIV, LX, LXI). This small cap still retains the lappets or streamers in the back, which could be either worn hanging down or fastened up (Fig. 64 D). The hair, arranged close to the head, was either left plain (Plates XLIX, L) or entwined with beads (Plates LI, LVII, LVIII); or partially covered by the fashionable close cap (Plates XLVIII A, LX); or, again, simply relieved with a spray of flowers fastened at the top a little to one side (Plate LVI). It emphasized the fullness of the hooped skirts.

Toward 1770, however, when the hair was beginning to be dressed higher, caps also began to grow in height and width (Plate LXIII. Fig. 61 A). These large caps continued to be worn until the end of the century.

Still another variety of the large linen or lawn cap appeared about the same date. It rose quite high in a point in front and fitted close around the face. The edge was usually made in a fine full ruching. It could

be tied under the chin (Fig. 65 A), or curved over the ears, where it was drawn tight over the hair in the back by a drawing-string (Fig. 65 C).

Elderly women throughout the eighteenth century wore a linen or stiffened gauze cap that fitted over the

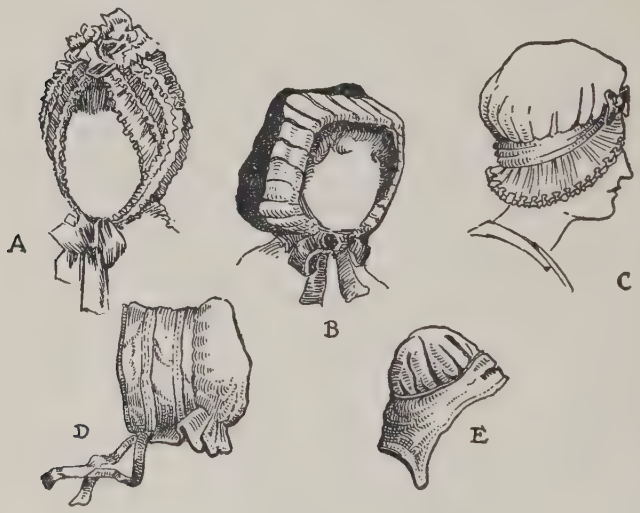


FIGURE 65

head and ears, encircling the face, and tied under the chin. Usually a stiffened edge encircled the face (Plates I, XLVI, LXI).

Hoods were worn throughout the period, some of them enveloping the head, with the front edge turned back, revealing the lining, which was generally of a gay and contrasting color (Fig. 65 B), and tied under the chin. There were warm quilted hoods for cold winter weather that had stiffened brims extending

around the face (Fig. 65 D). There were also small quilted hoods, fitting the head very close, that were probably worn under the lighter silk hoods in severe weather (Fig. 65 E).

So long as the hair was dressed close to the head, the hood was retained without any very noticeable change in its style. With the change of dressing the hair in towered forms, the style that came in with the seventies, the old hoods gradually lost favor. In their place came the calash, "a vast hood on hinged hoops which could be raised or lowered" over the high head-dresses without disturbing them (Fig. 66 D E). Planché, in describing the calash, says: "A hood made like that of the carriage, called in France calèche, to pull over the head, whence its name."

Straw hats with a broad brim and low crown (Plate LVI) appeared shortly after 1730. They were inspired by the pastoral styles worn first in England, later in France. They were usually worn over the small linen cap edged with ruffles (Fig. 66 A). They were held in place by two long ribbon ties fastened to the ribbon that went around the crown, brought out over the brim, and tied beneath the chin.

From the seventies on, hats were all the style and were of every shape and form. Hats were worn at every conceivable angle, either low on the head (Fig. 66 B C) or perched on top of the high coiffures. From the seventies hats became much more fashionable as well as varied in style. They were trimmed with artificial flowers and fruit, plumes and feathers, ribbons and laces. The two shown in the drawings (Fig. 66 B C)

are but a suggestion of the great variety easily found in the numerous drawings and fashion-plates still extant.

Shoes.—High-heeled shoes with a round toe were fashionable up until 1730, when shoes with pointed toes

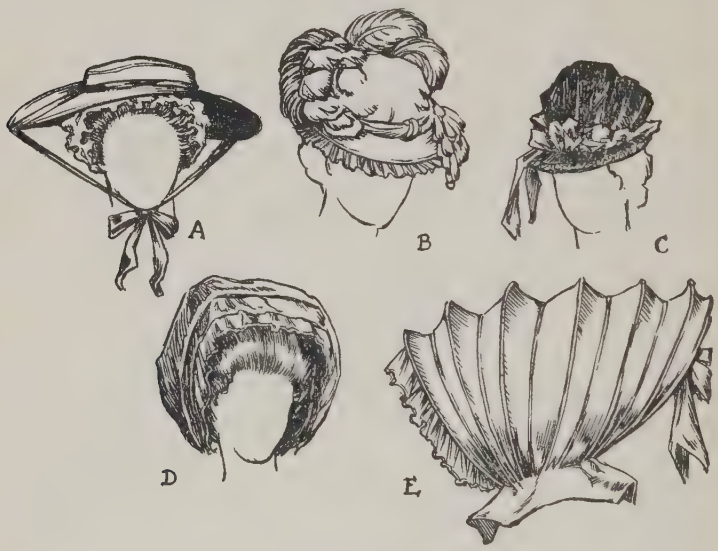


Figure 66

came into style from England. They retained the high "French" or "Louis" heel. Shoes for fashionable wear were expensive, being made from a rich selection of beautiful silks and damasks, plain or flowered. In 1750 one reads of finely made shoes of "white and russet bands closely stitched with wax threads." By 1760 heels began to be lowered. Both buckles and small rosettes were worn on the instep.

A

Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

B

The Robe *à la française*, usually referred to as the Watteau Gown—

Linen.—The chemise (Plates XLVII, XLVIII, LV, LVIII) is seen as an edging to the line of the *décolletage*. From under the elbow sleeves of the bodice appear the ruffles of lace (Plates L, LI, LVI, LX, etc.). The shoulders and neck above the low-cut gown were often covered by a fine kerchief and scarfs (Plates I, XLVI, LIV, LXI B, LXIII). The ends were often tucked into the bosom, or the two ends were brought down the front over the stomacher and held in position by ribbon bows (Plate LIV). Rich bands of lace edged the *décolletage* (Plates L, LI, LVI, etc.). Around the neck was worn a band of black ribbon (Plate LXII), which in a way compared to the solitaire worn by the men. Close-fitting necklaces of pearls (Plates LVII, LVIII B) or jewels (Plate LX) were often worn instead. In place of either the ribbon or necklace, one finds the becoming small ruffle of lace worn fastened under the chin and secured at the back by a ribbon bow (Plate LVI).

Accessories.—Long gloves of white, black, or purple silk or kid were very fashionable. Many women wore silk or lace mittens that were fingerless gloves and took the place of the heavier glove in summer. They were black, white, pink, blue, or yellow. Aprons were worn in no special size or style, but as fancy suggested. Parasols, called "quitasols," were extremely rare and do not appear in any of the advertisements of the eighteenth century. They were made of oiled muslin and were in various colors. Every woman in evening dress wore a bunch of either real or artificial flowers at her bosom. If real flowers, in order to preserve them

the stems were placed in a small glass tube about four inches long, filled with water, and known as a "bosom bottle." The "bosom bottle" was concealed in the stomacher of the gown. A small cluster of either real or artificial flowers was often worn in the hair. Muffs continued to be worn throughout the century, and varied in size and material from time to time as fashion dictated.

Paint, powder, and patches were generally used in fashionable circles, though not to the same extent here as in France, where the court ladies used paint and powder so thickly their faces seemed enameled, and called forth the remark from an English lady visiting Paris, that "their wooly white hair and fiery red faces make them look more like skinned sheep than human beings." Upon the painted and powdered cheeks of American ladies, patches were placed. The placing of the patch was usually significant. We are told that "ladies with whig sympathies wore these patches on the left hand side of the face; the tories on the right."

Every woman of fashion carried a patch-box of enamel, brass, silver, china, or tortoise-shell. Its lid was fitted on the inside with a small looking-glass. With the assistance of this mirror, she placed a patch near the corner of her eye, known as the "impassioned patch"; or one on the middle of the cheek, called the "gallant." The coquette placed one on the lips, and so on. The patch-box and fan were to the lady of the eighteenth century what the snuff-box was to the gentleman. It is strange that while so many advertisements of "gummed patches" appeared in the New

England papers, no lady appeared in any of the portraits of this period wearing the patch. The etui, or "ornamental case, hanging from the waist, intended to hold thimble, scissors and scent bottle," was worn by all ladies of fashion. The pomander, in the form of a silver box or ball with perforations, was used for holding perfume, and was a fashionable acquisition to the toilet.

The planters' wives in Virginia were known to use the fan during the early seventeenth century. Later, in New England, about 1660, fans were at times brought from England. It was from 1730 on that they became increasingly popular; and at this time fan-making in the colonies was a well-known industry. Armorial fans and Chinese monogram fans were imported by the East India Company, and were highly decorative in design, bearing the family crest or monogram beautifully woven into the pattern, which was executed with great skill.

Contemporary with these were the "minuet" fans, which also found favor in America. This fan was of ivory, and, upon unfolding, disclosed three oval medallions decorated by an artist of note.

Various publications in the American colonies always advertised the fan. They were sold at both the stationers' and the jewelers', and figured in auction sales. Women of all classes now carried them, the wealthy women owning several. Fans were made of tortoise-shell, vellum, satin, feathers, silver filigree, or ivory. The French fans were the most beautiful of those imported; for only from that country were the master-

pieces in painted fans to be had. During the time of Marie Antoinette, who favored the satin fan, exquisitely beautiful ones were executed. Many were brought to this country and copied here by fan-makers in the various cities.

CHAPTER VI

PENNSYLVANIA TO THE REVOLUTION

1681–1775

EARLY Pennsylvania was an ethnic and religious patchwork. A greater variety of races and creeds found homes within its borders than in any other colony. Clinging together and settling in groups, they dotted the early province with a curious pattern of self-sufficient communities, each attempting to preserve its own manners and ideals; each resisting, but not preventing, partial assimilation.

The flags of Holland and Sweden had flown over portions of the colony, and traders and settlers from both countries had appeared along the shores of the Delaware as early as 1632. Though the real history of Pennsylvania begins with the granting of the royal charter of 1681, the settlements previous to that date were not without significance. The little villages of Swedes, Dutch, English, and Finns, scattered along the banks of the Delaware, were quietly prosperous communities, pleasantly pastoral in character. They hugged the river, little attempt being made to open up the belt of forest skirting the shores; for these settlers were less aggressive than most. They had been content to cultivate the rich river bottoms, to fill the meadows with their red cattle, to cut ditches and dikes,

and to plant orchards and gardens. They might have given complexion to the future of the colony; but their numbers were too scanty to resist the influx following the granting of the charter. They lost their identity rapidly and became absorbed by the waves of English, Welsh, Germans, and Scotch-Irish that swept into the colony.

The granting of the charter which gave William Penn almost sovereign power over the colony was the signal for the release of a great stream of migration. Penn, although a Quaker, opened his lands not only to the members of his own sect but to "all who confess and acknowledge one Almighty and eternal God to be the creator, upholder and ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged to live peaceably and justly in civil society."

The development of the colony began late, but, once under way, its growth was astonishing. In 1681 there were perhaps six thousand souls within its borders; the forest stretched unbroken from the river bank westward to beyond the Alleghanies. A century later it was one of the richest, most populous and important of the commonwealths; its principal city had grown to be the largest on the continent, another of its cities the largest inland municipality; and its pioneers were raising their cabins in the river valleys of the Great Basin.

When William Penn landed at New Castle in 1682 "amid the welcoming shouts of Dutch and Swedish settlers in woodland garb, the men in leather breeches and jerkins," the women "in skin jackets and linsey

petticoats," he found his young colony had already taken root. There were no Indian dangers, the well-stocked farms of the Swedes and Dutch were a guarantee against famine, and the climate was temperate and healthful. To Penn the new country seemed like "the best vales of England watered by brooks; the air, sweet; the heavens, serene like the south of France; the seasons, mild and temperate; vegetable production abundant, chestnut, walnut, plums, muscatel grapes, wheat and other grains; a variety of animals, elk, deer, squirrel and turkeys weighing forty or fifty pounds, water birds and fish of divers kinds, no want of horses, and flowers lovely for color, greatness, figure and variety. . . The stories of our necessity [have been] either the fear of our friends, or the scarecrows of our enemies; for the greatest hardships we have suffered hath been salt meat, which by fowl in winter and fish in summer, together with some poultry, lamb, mutton, veal and plenty of venison, the best part of the year has been made very possible."

It is evident the early Pennsylvanians suffered little of the distress falling to the lot of most colony founders. They labored to such purpose that by the end of 1683 the newly laid out site of Philadelphia contained three hundred and fifty-seven dwellings, many of them of framed wood; some of red brick. Settlers continued to stream in, hungry for land. Almost overnight Philadelphia became the principal port of entry in the colonies. The English Quakers continued to come in numbers, and new races and faiths were carried in on the rising flood of migration—German Protestants

of a dozen sects, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, Moravians, Dutch Baptists, Welsh Quakers and Baptists, and some Irish Catholics.

There were almost no men of wealth in the ranks of the new-comers. They were recruited largely from the yeomen and peasant classes; men who had their way to make in the world; seekers after homesteads of a workable size. Their numbers, earnestness, and energy helped to establish Pennsylvania among the leaders of the colonies; but the tendency of each race and faith to settle apart prevented the colony from becoming a unit in thought and action.

Philadelphia attracted numbers from each group; yet it was essentially a Quaker town, with a strong representation of English of the Church of England persuasion. The counties adjacent to the city were also held by the Quakers. The next band of counties, Lancaster, Berks, Lehigh, and parts of Montgomery and Bucks were occupied by the Germans. Beyond, along the Susquehanna and in the Cumberland Valley, were the Scotch-Irish settlements. A fourth group were the Welsh, who settled themselves on the "Welsh Barony," about the towns of Merion, Haverford, and Radnor, just west of Philadelphia. This racial grouping was a serious obstacle to unity; yet, even in the days of its beginnings, the colony achieved a marked individuality, developing an atmosphere singularly simple and tolerant.

Religion was in the air during the early years. Both Quakers and German Pietists were people who made no separation between their religious and secular lives;

PLATE LIV

Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

MRS. JOHN BROWN (1697–1775)
By Joseph Blackburn. Painted about 1758

who carried the admonitions of the meeting-house into the encounters of everyday life. The sobriety and earnestness characterizing this early life resisted for many years the pressure of continued immigration and economic expansion. Pennsylvania was probably subject to a greater variety of influences and contacts than any of the other provinces; but the origins of the colony were Quaker, and Quaker ideals and manners were, for a long time, the most potent factors in its growth.

When the Quakers first appeared upon the Pennsylvania scene their faith was still a new one, and many of its forms were far from being crystallized. In the matter of dress—and it bulked large in the precepts of their church—they had been merely admonished to clothe themselves plainly and soberly, and to avoid all appearance of vanity or luxury. In no sense did they bring to the new country a uniform or stereotyped form of dress. Their clothes were those of the English world of Charles II. Their garments were cut like those following the general vogue of the day. Their own contribution was the elimination of the applied decoration—the braid, ornate buttons, ribbons, plumes, and laces; in the avoidance of conspicuous materials and colors, and in the sober air with which they wore their quiet dress. The so-called Quaker costume of the time was not a new and different type of dress, merely a simplified and unadorned version of the current mode. Once plainness and sobriety had been achieved, the tendency was to retain the form in spite of the influence of passing fashions. Thus, in a few decades,

the Quaker was well behind the mode, and by marking time had, in the matter of dress, passed from a radical to a conservative position. It was only then, when the quickly succeeding fashions had left them in the dress of a past generation, that Quaker costume became at all standardized. It never remained fixed in form. Reluctantly and sparingly it borrowed from the changing dress about it, and followed at the distance of a generation or two the curious fashions of the outside world.

As the colony grew and amassed material benefits, the old familiar cleavage between town and country life appeared. The cleavage expressed itself as eloquently in dress as in other ways, and the costume of many of the Quaker town-dwellers felt the impact of wealth and outside influences. The country folk, secure from worldly contacts, kept their gray and brown simplicity almost untouched; but those of the city who had felt the quickening touch of prosperity usually found some compromise necessary.

Philadelphia, through the expanding years of the eighteenth century, grew into the first city of the land. The ships of the world dropped anchor in the Delaware; her warehouses were piled high with the plunder of the markets of East and West; the back-country added its supplies of foodstuffs, fur, iron, lumber, glass, and paper. The luxuries of the early days became the necessities of the late century. Carpets, chintz hangings, India prints, wall-papers, and complete services of silver were commonplaces. All the new and strange products of the world's workshops found their

way to the counters of the new city, and Philadelphia, young, lusty, and greedy for fine things, absorbed them all, filling her homes and institutions with them. The eighteenth century had effaced the last lingering touch of the medieval in art. The dignity of the Georgian had replaced the broader, sturdier architecture of the previous century; the grace and consummate craftsmanship of Chippendale and Adam had succeeded the heavier lines of the Jacobean and William and Mary styles. It was an age in which an art of great refinement and sophistication reached fruition, and with it grew up a society of equal refinement and sophistication. In all the continent of North America there was no center more receptive to this art and society than Philadelphia. By the time of the Revolution the luxury and extravagance of the city had reached its peak. Its culmination was the great "Mischianza," that Georgian version of medieval pageantry and tournament.

Exposed to the color and attraction of this setting, and of necessity actively engaged in affairs compelling them to rub elbows with the world, it was inevitable many of the Quakers should find the color and variety of new fashions irresistible. In the gay Philadelphia society of the eighteenth century, which adopted the latest London vogue as quickly as fast sailing ships could bring it, it would have been impossible to pick out the wealthier and more worldly Quakers through any difference in their dress. There were others, not unaffected by the fashion of the day, who were unsympathetic with its excesses, and who worked out a compromise between the Quaker and the worldly ideal.

Yet the great body of Quakers clung to quiet grays and browns, cutting their clothes in styles out of vogue for a generation or more.

In a general way, the same principles and influences to which the costume of the Quakers was subjected can be applied to that of the various sects of German Pietists. They, too, were "plain people," frowning upon anything that smacked of ostentation. Yet, although they all worked toward an ideal of simplicity, each sect had its own restrictions and prohibitions, and each differed from the others in minor ways. Mennonites, Schwenkfelders, Amish, Dunkards, Seventh-Day Baptists, United Brethren, and others all worked out the problems of plain dressing in their own way. If the general result was the same, the minor complications were many, demanding a volume of their own. Once having found a dress expressing their ideal of plainness, they held to it tenaciously, suffering few changes to be made. This was all the more possible, since, living in a district of their own, they were isolated from the rest of the colony. They have in part preserved their language and habits down to the present day.

Other racial groups brought certain distinctive articles of dress that gradually disappeared under the compulsion of a new life, as in the case of the high, conical-shaped hats of the Welsh women, and the wooden shoes of some of the German peasant redemptioners. In the main, where individual tastes were not guided by religious convictions, the tendency was to drop the peculiarities of the homeland and to put on

the habits of the new. In the Pennsylvania of the eighteenth century all the color and glitter were concentrated in Philadelphia. Around it lapped bands of Quaker gray and Pietist drab; beyond these the homespun and buckskin of the border country.

I. COSTUME OF THE QUAKERS: MEN
1682

The male costume of the Quakers who came to America shortly after the signing of the charter was in the late fashion of Charles II's time. A comparison between the costume of a man of fashion with the dress of a Quaker gentleman in America during these years will point out the differences that existed. Among the gaily dressed men of the world, the Quaker costume was markedly conspicuous, not because it was different in cut and style, but on account of the lack of the popular extravagances which had become such an important part of the fashionable dress of the time. The Quakers had not, as is usually supposed, adopted a distinctive type of dress at this period, but from the very beginning a note of neatness, plainness, and simplicity pervaded their attire. Quaker simplicity and plainness, however, did not mean cheapness, as the material possessions of the Quakers were of the best. Their houses were furnished with the best walnut and mahogany furniture, though restrained in carving and decoration. The most costly silver and china, the finest of imported rugs and carpets went into their homes; and the best of materials into their dress.

Coats and Waistcoats.—If Figure 43 B is compared with Figure 67 A, it will be noticed that the cut of the two coats is identical, in both cases reaching to the knees and extending several inches beyond the

Figure 67

long waistcoats. The sleeves have the great turned-back cuffs from the middle of the forearm to beyond the elbow. It will be noticed, however, there is a staidness and plainness in the Quaker garment, a lack of figured materials, noticeable in the great turned-back cuffs

and waistcoat of the fashionably dressed man. Further, there is a noticeable lack of embroidery and braid around the edges of the coat and waistcoat in the Quaker garment.

By comparing Figure 46 A with Figure 68 A, both men being dressed in the costume just previous to and during the Revolution, it will be found the Quaker had not as yet accepted the newer coat and waistcoat, but was still garbed in the costume of about 1750. (See Fig. 45 A.) The Quaker's coat and waistcoat were still unadorned and noticeably free of embroidery, braids, and edging.

BREECHES.—Breeches are about the same, though the Quakers never seem to have worn the full exaggerated breeches such as were worn during these early years by the more fashionably dressed men. Later, however, they were about the same.

LINEN.—While the linen worn by the Quakers was splendid in quality and often edged with lace, it never became as rich and extravagant as that worn by the "world's people." In Figure 67 A can be seen the neck-cloth, that came in about 1660. It is passed around the neck and tied under the chin with short spreading ends, while in Figure 43 B the ends of the neck-cloth are brought together and fastened at the throat with a ribbon bow.

In Figure 68 A the Quaker gentleman is wearing the cravat fashionable in the eighties, when the tie was lengthened and fell freely down the front in two long ends, carried over the neck-band. In 46 A we see the more fashionable frill of lace, known as the jabot,

appearing under the neck-band. The solitaire is worn in combination with the bag-wig and the jabot.

Foot-gear.—In comparing the shoes worn in 67 A with 43 B, the Quaker still retains the shoe roses,

Figure 68

though as a general fashion they are no longer met with. The newer fashion of these years is seen in the high-heeled shoes, with the tongue rising high over the instep; in place of the shoe rose, the shoe would be fastened by a buckle. Later, when the tongue was

PLATE LV

Courtesy of the Boston Museum of Art

MRS. JONATHAN SIMPSON

By Joseph Blackburn. Painted 1758

much reduced in size (46 A) the Quaker still retained the older fashion (68 A).

HAIR.—While the gentlemen of the world wore the long curled and powdered or black periwig, the Quaker was apt to wear his own hair falling over his shoulders, but "Wigs were as generally worn by genteel Friends as by other people." The wig of the Quaker seems, however, to have been less voluminous and dandified.

HATS.—The Quaker hat in 1680 was practically the same as that worn by other men, only instead of cocking the brim at various angles he preferred to wear his hat with a natural wide brim uncocked (Fig. 67 A). Among the Quakers the hat was kept on the head most of the time, whether indoors or out. He refused to lift it in the form of a salute; this to the Quaker mind was an affectation. Later on, the cocked hat as well as the broad-brim hat was worn. Mrs. Gummere states, "The broad brim and the cock are the two forms of the Quaker hat." In 68 A is seen the Quaker hat with the brim rolled up at the sides in quite an angle, but it never rivaled the exaggerated cock of the Kevenhuller worn by the gentlemen in Figure 46 A.

II. COSTUME OF THE QUAKERS: WOMEN
1682

BODICE AND SKIRT.—The gown of the Quaker woman of about 1682 is seen in Figure 67 B, and represents the general style of Quaker dress for many years to come. The opening at the neck is filled in with a fine linen or lawn kerchief, carried down the front, the

opening of the bodice being laced across. The same material seen in the kerchief appears from under the elbow sleeves. The full skirt is gathered into full pleats to the bodice. Over the silk gown is worn the apron. A comparison of this costume with the costume seen in Figure 55 A shows in the latter the low cut of the bodice, the full-looped skirt held in place with ribbon ties over a satin petticoat edged along the lower border with two flounces of lace. The bodice, open over the stomacher, has a row of graduated ribbons, known as the échelles, down the front. Instead of the plain undersleeves of the Quaker dress, we find sleeves of fine lawn or lace, puffed at the elbow and finished with lace ruffles.

The costume of a Quaker lady on the eve of the Revolution is shown in Figure 68 B, though it is in the fashion of about 1735–40. The modish costume of this time (1775) was the robe *à la française* (Fig. 57) or the polonaise (Fig. 59). The bodice (Fig. 68 B) is laced over a white stomacher, the sleeves of elbow length. Edging the slight *décolletage* appears the ruffle of a lawn undergarment turned over the neck like a falling band. The split skirt was worn over hoops, exposing the petticoat, but not nearly so distended as that of the woman of fashion.

CHAPTER VII

THE REVOLUTION AND THE NEW REPUBLIC

1775–1800

The Revolution proved to be more than a successful rebellion against the armed forces of England. It was the first campaign of the new liberalism against the old order of things; the forerunner of a greater revolution in humane thought and practice that was to sweep through the world. During the last quarter of the century it made its way, sometimes violently, sometimes imperceptibly, transforming the political, social, and economic scaffolding of America and Europe. After its passing it could be seen that the design of human society had been altered and that a new one was taking shape. The young nineteenth century was free to launch its hopes and experiments in more enlightened and democratic channels.

The war left the freed States exhausted and a little dismayed. The new independence was at once a wonderful and a terrifying thing. There was a growing realization that it entailed more than a mere separation from England; that a national consciousness and a governmental framework were necessary, and that these were not to be achieved without struggle and pain.

Seven years of war had left its scars from Vermont to Georgia. Fire and pillage, the disruption of commerce and industry, the departure of large bodies of loyalists with their wealth and chattels, the debasement of the currency, and the wastage in men and material had drained the vitality of the country. Fortunately, America's frontierlike civilization had weathered the storm of war better than was possible in more complicated and centralized communities. It was still a civilization of small, self-sufficient units—farm households in which almost everything necessary for maintaining existence could be produced. Although these households felt the pinch of war conditions, yet in no essential was their mode of living changed from that of pre-Revolutionary times.

It was in the cities and towns the greatest change occurred. During the British occupation the larger cities, like Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Charleston, had been centers of the most extreme gaiety and fashionable life. Probably never before nor since were there episodes of such color, luxury, and brilliance in American history. The color and brilliance departed overnight with the beaten British armies. Nothing was left to take its place. Those families of wealth and station still remaining either were more soberly inclined or were restrained from any display of ostentation by the new democratic catch-cries in the air. The phrases of the Declaration were in circulation, and none cared to risk the epithet of "aristocrat."

The growing restraint in dress was due partly to the lack of imported materials, commerce with England

PLATE LVI

Courtesy of F. W. Bayley

MRS. JOSHUA WINSLOW (1742– ?)
By John S. Copley. Painted 1763

having been cut off during the war, and contact with other countries hazardous because of the British blockade. With the signing of the treaty, new life began to stir on the deserted wharves of the seaport cities; for America was now free to trade with the world unhampered by navigation acts or Board of Trade restrictions. The country's young strength asserted itself, and in a remarkably short space of time she had repaired the ravages of the conflict and was winning a place in the world's commercial and industrial spheres. The hatred toward England was still intense, and many wished nothing England could give of its art and industry. In the excitement of independence, some hoped for a new, vaguely democratic art to spring from the soil of the liberated country. Most cast about for their models among the older nations of Europe.

France was the chosen country. She was popular because of her aid during the Revolution; large numbers of her émigrés had found homes in America, bringing with them French culture and a taste for French art; she was working out a new phase of the classic revival, which, when it crystallized into the Empire style, was to leave its mark on the art of all western Europe and America.

During the last quarter of the century French influence on American costume and on art was evident; but it is interesting to note that even when dislike of things English was general, and when conscious efforts to eliminate all English characteristics were being made, yet under the newly acquired French veneer the English foundation was always visible. It was impos-

sible for the new Republic to disavow much less to hide its ancestry.

The upheavals of the late eighteenth century finally reached the field of dress. The weight, expanse, and cumbersomeness of the costume had attained such dimensions that nothing short of a reaction could suffice. High head-dresses, hoops, voluminous skirts, powder and patches, high-heeled shoes, and large broad-brimmed hats were discarded. In their place, through the closing years of the century, came the grace and simplicity of the Empire style—lower coiffures, the straight, clinging lines of the gowns, the low-heeled shoes and sandals, the turban head-dresses, and the use of thin, semi-transparent materials. For the women the new fashion was just another swing of the pendulum. Presently they would go back to hoops, full skirts, and tight bodices. The men committed themselves, however, to a type of dress that leads down to modern times in a straight line. Their trousers were reaching to the middle of the calf, and on their way to the shoe top. Wigs had vanished and color was going. Male costume had turned another corner and was on its way to the drab present.

1. COSTUME OF THE MEN

1775–1800

One is apt to suppose that during the years just previous to the Revolution, and the actual years of fighting that followed, men would have had little chance to think of dress. Probably for a time uniforms were

given more special attention than the cut of a coat. Men in civilian life, however, dressed, if not always in the finest stuffs, yet with all the nicety of detail they had previously observed.

Body Garments and Breeches.—The coat, waistcoat, and breeches as described in Chapter V, Section 1 (Plates XXXVI, XXXVII. Fig. 46) will also answer for a man during the period of the Revolution, and until 1800. Thus, the dress coat remained about the same. The sleeves were worn quite tight, with a small cuff at the wrist, the front sloping away to the back in two narrow coat-tails. The pockets were placed upon the hips with small flaps. The side pleats, set more to the back, were pressed flat and were much smaller in size than formerly. The waistcoat buttons went to a little below the waist-line, the waistcoat having a short skirt. The knee breeches' button and buckle were at the side of the leg, the breeches band fastening over the silk stocking. They fitted over the leg, were made full in the seat, and gathered to a tight waist-band (Plates XXXVII, XXXVIII, XXXIX).

In 1780 a new fashion in coats for ordinary wear made its appearance. The coat for more dress occasions was the one just described. The new coat gradually grew in favor, until in the early nineties it was worn for all occasions. The new-fashioned coat (Fig. 69 A) was made in a high-waisted, double-breasted style, with a deep cut-out in front from a little above the waist-line; from there it fell away in the back to a long-tailed skirt. A characteristic detail in the nineties was

the high collar and broad lapels (Plate XLI A B). The sleeves were close and extended to the wrist with a small cuff. Small lace ruffles might (Fig. 69 B) or

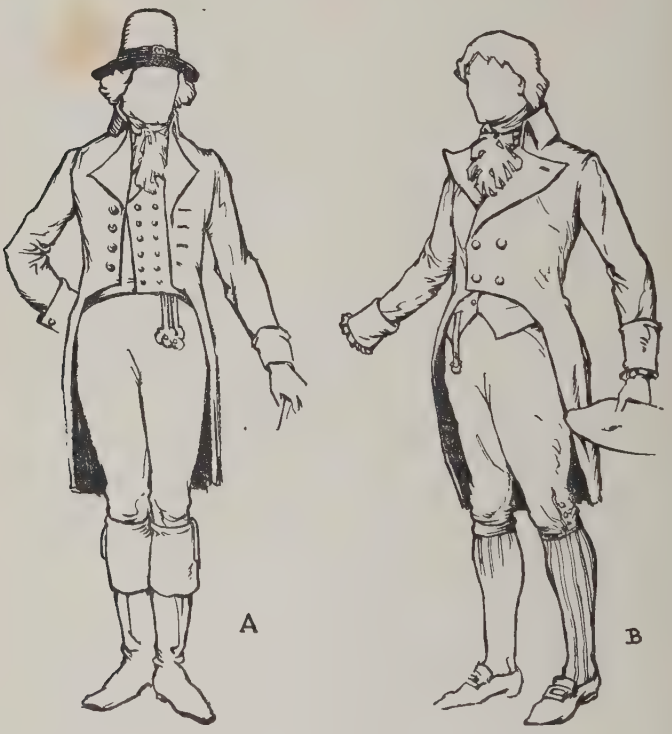


FIGURE 69

might not (Fig. 69 A) appear at the wrist. Waistcoats, which had been quite short, were cut still higher in a straight line across the front. They were double-breasted and might or might not have large lapels. The waistcoat, cut still higher, conformed to the shortened

PLATE LVII

Courtesy of the Lenox Library, New York City

MRS. JOHN WENTWORTH (1746–1813)
By John S. Copley. Painted 1765

cutaway coat, though three inches or so of vest showed from under the buttoned-up coat (Fig. 69 A B).

From the middle of the eighties, when the double-

FIGURE 70

breasted waistcoat developed the large lapels, it became fashionable to wear the lapel of the waistcoat turned out over the lapel of the coat (Plate XLI A. Fig. 70 A).

From the beginning of the period one finds skin-tight buckskin riding-breeches (Fig. 70 A). From the

nineties on, all fashionable breeches were tailored to fit tight to the thighs and were not supposed to show any wrinkles or creases.

Overcoats.—Overcoats in the style of the earlier period were still worn. They were usually termed riding-coats, but were generally worn for coaching, traveling, or even walking. The coat (Fig. 70 B) is a double-breasted riding-coat, probably made out of serge or kersey, with two rows of buttons down the front. The coat is long, almost covering the legs, and without much shape. The large revers, or lapels, lie over the chest. Around the neck is the triple cape.

In the eighties the overcoat (Fig. 70 C) was a little more fitted to the waist. It was left open and the revers were buttoned back. The skirts of the coat were full and long; the sleeves closed with small cuffs. Two small capes encircled the neck.

In the nineties one meets with a riding-coat with an extremely smart cut (Fig. 70 A). The collar is carried high up about the neck in the fashion of these years. When buttoned, it was made to fit slightly in at the waist, the skirts hanging a little full from the waist down.

Banyans and morning gowns were fashionable to the end of the century (Plates XXXIII, XXXIV).

Linen.—Ruffles of lawn or lace still appeared from under the coat-sleeve at the wrist (Plates XXXVIII, XXXIX, XL), gradually, however, growing less in evidence, until by the nineties they had generally disappeared (Plate XLI A. Fig. 69 A). The plain folded stock, buckled in the back with a frill of lace, the jabot

decorating the opening of the waistcoat at the throat, was worn throughout the period (Plates XL, XLI A). At times the jabot was quite small and almost hidden by the waistcoat, which was buttoned almost to the throat (Plate XXXIX). From the beginning of the period one meets with a new form of the cravat. A "muslin neckerchief" was tied at the throat in a large bow, the ends of the bow tie spreading out over the waistcoat front (Plate XLI B).

COIFFURES.—The wig was worn in all the different forms of the queue dealt with in detail in Chapter V, Section 1, and continued by many to be worn in that style until near the close of the century, when, for general wear, they went out of fashion. Toward 1770, however, it became quite customary for the men who were not bald, or whose hair had not been ruined by wig-wearing, to cease shaving their heads. When the hair was of sufficient length they discarded the wig. The natural hair, moreover, was dressed in imitation of wigs. When powdered it was exceedingly difficult to determine in portraits whether the man was wearing his own hair or a wig.

The natural hair, dressed up in the back in a queue, was often left unpowdered. In fact, powder for everyday wear was usually omitted as early as 1760, and went out of fashion in the nineties.

From the eighties one finds the hair occasionally dressed in a studied, négligé style, in what was termed a "disheveled crop" (Fig. 71 B). A curl or puff was sometimes carried over the top of the head from ear to ear, a fashion that came in during the eighties. The

back hair was done in a pigtail queue (Fig. 71 D); or a small puff was placed at each side of the head over the ear, the hair brushed back from the forehead and with the back hair likewise made into a queue (Fig. 71 C). This could be varied by dressing the hair

FIGURE 71

in a puff over the top of the head, and in place of puffs at the side of the head the hair would be frizzed over the ears (Fig. 71 A). One of the plainest methods of dressing the hair was to brush it smoothly back from the brow without its being puffed, curled, or frizzed (Fig. 71 F). If the hair was thick, it might be brushed

Courtesy Massachusetts Historical Society A

PORTRAIT OF MARY OTIS GRAY

By John S. Copley

B *Courtesy Rhode Island School of Design*

MRS. MOSES GILL (1728–1771)

By John S. Copley. Painted about 1766

PLATE LVIII

full over from off the forehead (Fig. 71 E). While the pigtail queue was the more usual way of fastening the back hair, at times it was brought into a simple tie or thrust into the bag. In the full length portrait of Washington painted by Gilbert Stuart, in the costume worn by the President at the time of his second inauguration in Philadelphia the ribbons of the bow fastening the bag can be seen over his left shoulder.

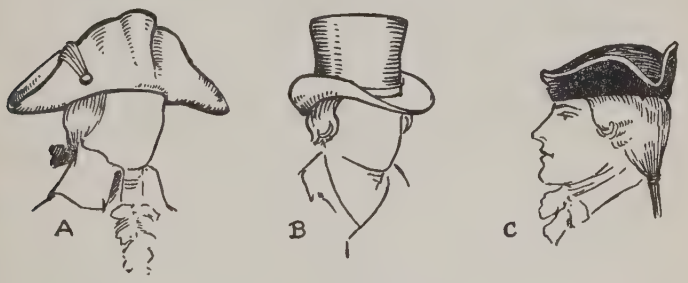


FIGURE 72

HEAD-GEAR.—The cocked hats worn by gentlemen retained their popularity more or less throughout the period, varying considerably, however, in size, angle, and style of the cocked brims. From the seventies on, the front peak was generally carried high up (Fig. 72 A). In contrast to the hat cocked high in the front, there is, from the eighties on, the much abbreviated form worn by the dandies and known as the Nevernois hat, which probably was the last phase of the cocked hat (Fig. 72 C).

A very favorite hat appearing in the seventies was the round-crown, broad-brimmed felt or beaver hat

(Fig. 70 A C). Occasionally the brim was rolled up on one side. This hat was much worn for traveling, riding, hunting, and undress.

From the eighties one meets with a new fashion, hats with flat or narrow brims and high, tapering crowns (Fig. 69 A). Around the crown a band and buckle were usually placed. During the next ten years, or from the nineties, one finds the top-hat with varying contours to the sides of the crown, and the roll of the brim (Fig. 72 B).

STOCKINGS.—Silk stockings, usually clocked, were worn under the breeches generally throughout the period. Striped stockings came in in the late nineties (Fig. 69 B).

FOOT-GEAR.—The low shoes were of quite normal shape, with rounded toe and low heels, the short tongue coming over the instep and fastened by a large square buckle (Plates XXXIX, XL. Figs. 69 B. 70 C). Leggings of leather, spatterdashes, and top-boots, referred to at length in Chapter V, Section 1, were worn throughout this period, especially in the country. Top-boots became extremely fashionable for general wear from the nineties on (Fig. 69 A). The lower part of the top-boot, made of black leather and highly polished, fitted tight over the calf of the leg, while the tops of brown leather came some inches below the knees. For hunting and riding, top-boots were worn with skin-tight buckskin breeches.

ACCESSORIES.—Swords were hardly ever worn now, except on state occasions (Plates XXXIX, XL). In their place men carried sword-canes. Canes were carried

generally throughout these years. A little before 1800 the heavy club sticks became fashionable. Now, as in previous years, the snuff-box was an indispensable part of a gentleman's attire.

II. COSTUME OF THE WOMEN
1775–1800

During the Revolution, extremes of rich and plain attire in women's dress were most marked. In the large cities, especially in those occupied from time to time by the British, balls, dinners, dances, and parties kept fashion uppermost in the thoughts of the ladies; while throughout the country districts the majority of women dressed as plainly as possible, wearing domestic materials and curtailing expenses wherever possible in order to send help to their men who were fighting.

Body Garments.—Bodices remained much the same in shape and style as in the last years of the previous period, continuing so until about 1780. They retained their long-waisted shape, either closed or open, and laced over a stomacher. The low-necked gown remained in fashion, with sleeves usually of elbow length, though a close sleeve to the wrist came in early in the seventies and was to become more and more fashionable. The sacque, the robe *à la française* (Plate LIII), or the polonaise (Fig. 59) both lasted until the eighties. In the sacque the box pleats were sewn tighter to the body, and "the full pleat from the shoulder down the front went out." From 1777 on, hoops and

panniers were less and less worn, except on dress occasions. In place of the hooped skirt, one finds, toward 1780, the skirt attached to the bodice around the waist with small drawn gathers, and these either bunched,

FIGURE 73

reefed, or looped over a quilted petticoat (Fig. 73 A). The neck and shoulders left bare by a low-cut bodice was retained until the nineties, though the fashion of covering the neck above the corsage with fine linen and gauze scarfs and fichus increased. The abbreviated

PLATE LIX *Courtesy of Boston Museum of Fine Arts*

PORTRAIT OF MRS. PALMER AND LADY PEPPERELL

By Joseph Blackburn

sacque (Fig. 73 B C) and polonaise (Fig. 73 A) were extremely fashionable until 1790. Many women, as the year 1790 approached, tended more and more to follow the masculine mode of dress. The cut jacket and coat were very fashionable. The coats were made with lapels fastened across the front with buttons and loops (Fig. 73 D E).

A change in the style of women's costume came in about 1780, panniers and hoops being now more or less worn. The bodice, though still cut low in the neck, became shorter and less pointed in front, or was cut low in front and finished with tabs below the waist-line, the sleeves fitting close from the shoulder to the wrist. Above the corsage the neck was filled in with a fichu (Fig. 74 A). With the gradual disuse of the hoops and panniers the full-gathered skirt attached to the bodice was held out in the back by a bustle. This occurred all through the eighties (Fig. 73 C).

There was also a simpler type of dress consisting of a low-cut bodice with a medium full-flowing skirt gathered around the waist, which was not held out in the back by a bustle. Around the waist was worn a wide scarf or sash, tied in a bow either in the back or at the side (Fig. 74 B). To the bodice might be attached either short full sleeves edged with a frill or ruffle, or the long tight sleeve to the wrist. It was in the middle eighties that womankind conceived the absurd idea it was most becoming to look like a pouter pigeon. To secure this desired effect the kerchief of gauze or fine linen, called a buffont, was arranged to give "an exaggerated bosom." A book on costume gives the following

definition of buffonts: It was "a fine projecting covering for a lady's throat and breast, made of gauze or lace or linen. It was confined by the bodice and puffed out above like the breast of a pouter pigeon" (Fig. 74 B).

FIGURE 74

Another change occurred in women's costume about 1790, when the waist-line was again raised. The neck was bared in a deep, round *décolletage*, edged on the under side with a full lace ruffle (Plate LXIV A B). Above the corsage the neck was covered with a fine

gauze (Plate LXIV B) or by a buffont (Plate LXIV A).

The fur-trimmed pelisse was still worn as a fashionable wrap (see Chapter V, Section II) throughout these years.

FIGURE 75

Between 1795 and 1797 a decided change may be noted in women's dress. Suddenly hoops and panniers, full skirts of "stiff brocades and rustling silks," that had held sway for so long, went out of fashion, and one is introduced to the styles of the French Republic.

With the introduction of the new style, not only hoops and full skirts went out of fashion, but high-dressed hair, powder and patches, large hats, and high-heeled shoes were all put into the discard. From then on, fashions changed with great rapidity, a multiplicity of styles coming in with the dawn of the nineteenth century. The new gown was made with a short bodice, accentuating the high waist-line now the fashion (Fig. 75 A B). The narrow skirts were made of soft clinging materials. The bodice was still cut low in the neck, with either a round (Fig. 75 A) or a square (Fig. 75 B) *décolletage*, usually left uncovered; though for out-of-doors, long scarfs (Fig. 75 A) were thrown about the shoulders, almost reaching the ground.

Riding-Habits.—(Continued from Chapter V, Section II, page 226.)

From the "Fashionable Magazine" of August, 1786, there is a plate showing the riding-habit of that time. From it the authors have made a drawing which is reproduced here (Fig. 76 A). Although the magazine was an English publication, there is very little doubt but that the style was soon found here in America. While the habit is still tailored along masculine lines, the long full-skirted coat is no longer in evidence. The coat was made to fit close over the tightly laced figure, the skirts of the coat falling away into two coat-tails in the back. The coat was provided with lapels and was open at the throat. Large buttons fastened the coat together in the front. The sleeve, as fashion then dictated, was close-fitting from the shoulder to the wrist. Probably the coat was worn over a vest, while

PLATE LX

By kind permission of Mr. John C. Livingston and Metropolitan Museum of Art

MRS. JUDGE METCALF BOWLER

By John S. Copley

at the neck a ruffled frill of lace was seen. In place of the cocked hat, the large wide-brimmed hat of the period was worn—an extremely impractical selection. As a hat of this type would be unsuitable for a journey,

FIGURE 76

or for a ride of any distance, the riding-hood would, of necessity, be substituted for the picturesque "Gainsborough" hat.

During the nineties one meets with the long riding-coat (Fig. 76 B), which had revers or lapels, and but-

toned down the front. It had several small capes over the shoulders, in imitation of the box-coats worn by the stage-coach drivers. The front between the turned-down lapels could be filled in with a buffont, or with a rich frill of lace. While the three-cornered cocked hat was still worn at this time for riding, the more fashionable hat was the tall-crowned, flat-brimmed felt or beaver, decorated with bands, bunches of ribbon, and buckles. It seems to have been an exceedingly popular habit, and, while primarily designed for sporting wear, was the garment most worn "when travelling by coach, or carriage, or walking, and even in the house." It was generally made out of heavy cloth, or of a velvet of a bright color, scarlet or red predominating.

With the change entering into costume generally after 1797, the masculine riding-habit of previous years gave way to a garment more in accord with the feminine fashions of the day (Fig. 77). Coats, waistcoats, and cocked hats were discarded, and in their place one finds a tight, short-waisted bodice with revers or lapels, and opened at the throat, a small ruching or lace frill edging the opening. The sleeves were tight from the shoulders to the wrists. The long skirt was not made very full. In place of the impractical and extravagant styles in hats, there came in a close-fitting, brimless, black velvet cap.

Coiffures.—There was very little change in the manner of dressing the hair from that of the last period. After 1775, however, there was a tendency to widen and flatten the high-dressed coiffures at the top. We

are told: "The front hair, gathered from the forehead, was pressed in a forward curve over a high pad, with one to three curls at the sides, and one at the shoulder, the back hair being arranged in a loose loop curled on

FIGURE 77

the top and set with a large bow at the back" (Plate LXII). The hair was covered with a white powder, powder reaching the height of its popularity just preceding and during the early years of the Revolution.

It finally went out of favor about 1785. Extravagance in head-dresses in America never reached the absurd flights of fancy indulged in by the French; nor do they seem to have been generally popular, except for full dress or for special occasions. One reads more about them in the diaries and letters of fashionable young ladies, who loved to relate how they were tortured and tormented by having their heads made up, than one finds in actual evidence, judging from the portraits painted during those years. About 1781 the high towers for dress occasions were greatly lowered. At the same time the hair for everyday wear and general occasions was dressed in a new manner, with curls clustered over the head and with long flowing hair in the back. A curl often hung over one shoulder (Plate LXIV B. Fig. 78 A). The hair was either powdered or left its natural color.

In 1797 a fashion for dressing the hair was introduced, as evidenced in many pictures and miniatures of that date. It was dressed with curls over the forehead and at the side of the face, and with the back hair looped low. It was then brought up to the crown of the head, where it was fastened by a ribbon or a comb, the free end being brought over in another loop or in a curl (Fig. 78 B).

Coming into fashion with the high-waisted French gowns of 1797 was a style wherein the hair was dressed in a most disheveled mode. The back hair was brought up on the crown of the head in a mass of curls or in a twisted knot. From the center of the head, brought forward over the brow and cheeks, was a long, strag-

gling bang or lock of hair (Fig. 78 c). Many colonial women, however, did not follow this absurd mode, but simply dressed their hair high in a knot, parting it in the center, and waving it back on both sides off the

FIGURE 78

brow. Among the many exotic fashions of the Directory period in France, appearing in the last few years of the eighteenth century, and, from good evidence, followed by the women of America, was a style of dressing the hair "*à la victime*." This entailed the sacrifice of having the hair cut off quite close to the scalp. It was then brushed out from the head to make it stand stiff and perpendicular, a few straggling locks being brought forward into the eyes (Fig. 78 E).

This style of dressing the hair may have come as a

relief to many women of fashion, whose hair had been broken, scorched, and worn out in following the various modes of the tower head-dress. This mode was further supplemented by many women wearing wigs of short curly hair over their closely cropped heads—surely a temporary relief from all they had gone through at the hands of the barbers in following Dame Fashion (Fig. 78 D).

Hats and Caps.—It has already been noted in a previous chapter the tremendous increase in the variety and style of hats during the seventies. The mention made there of hats will serve for the first five years of this period.

Fashion in hats was never more varied than it was during the eighties and to the middle of the nineties. Hats of all sizes and materials, from small hats, caps, and close shapes to large enveloping bonnets and great broad-brimmed hats. One finds hats of straw, beaver, felt, silk, and gauze. Through the introduction of a black lace called "grenadine" from Chantilly, a great stimulus was given to millinery during the years from 1775 to the close of the century. Many of these lace and gauze hats, made either with a crown or without, and in a variety of shapes, were such huge affairs that they fairly overbalanced the figure (Fig. 79 A B). In the course of two years, or from 1784 to 1786, the style of hats changed some seventeen times in the Paris fashion books, and the ladies in America who could afford to keep up with these fleeting fashions did so by importing much of their head-wear from abroad. A few of these styles are shown in Figures 79 A B C D.

With the advent of the short-waisted gowns of 1795, 1797, and up to 1800, the vogue of the large hat passed. Fashion, however, kept changing with the same rapidity as formerly. Being so varied, it is impossible

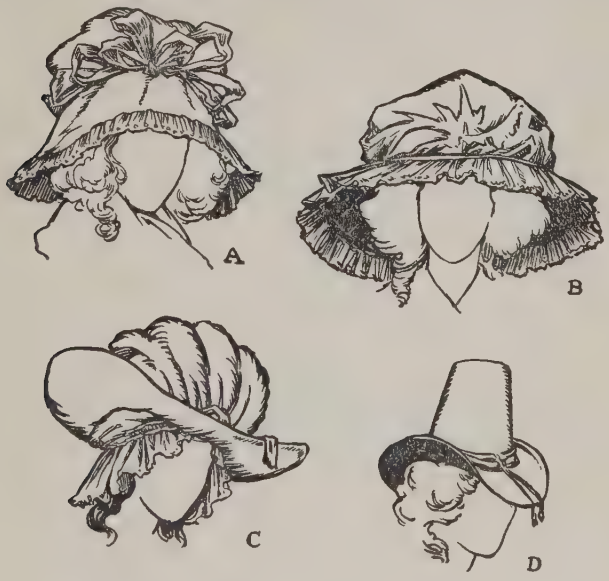


FIGURE 79

to treat comprehensively the subject of hats here. Material for the study of fashions in hats is very plentiful, and is available in all reference libraries in our large cities. It is only necessary to add that the turbanlike bonnets imported from France were particularly popular (Fig. 80 A).

Caps for morning and for house wear were still general. About 1780 one finds coming into fashion the

large mob-cap made of gauze or net. It was full about the head, with a big bow in the front (Plate LXIII. Fig. 80 D).

From about 1797 on, a favorite fashion was to dress the hair with scarfs of gauze, bands of crêpe and silk,

FIGURE 80

either plain or with a fringed edge, and with silk tasseled cords. Scarfs were braided and looped into the back hair, often enveloping the great knot of hair at the back (Fig. 80 F). Silk scarfs, kerchiefs, and broad silk sashes were twisted around the head in form of a turban. Fillets were worn in the classic manner around the head, holding the hair in place; while in the back the loops of hair resting low on the neck were con-

Courtesy of the Lenox Library, New York City A

PORTRAIT OF MRS. ROBERT HOOPER

By John S. Copley

B *Courtesy Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University*

MRS. NATHANIEL APPLETON

By John S. Copley. Painted 1763

fined in silk nets. Pieces of ribbon were wrapped around and tucked into the hair, the hair being pulled through where the ribbon did not overlap (Fig. 80 E).

Shoes.—Shoes with high heels continued to be worn, but by 1775, heels, especially for general wear, began to be lowered. The toe was rounded. Until 1785 wide latchets were buckled over the instep. Then both latchets and buckles went out of style, and the pointed instep gave way to a low, rounded front. The heels were also considerably lowered. By 1790 the heel was a mere suggestion, and during the nineties practically vanished. With the disappearance of heels, buckles, and latchets, there came in the French Revolutionary fashion of fastening the shoes with ribbons about the ankles, in the manner of sandals.

Accessories.—Gloves, fans, parasols, muff, scarfs, and jewels were all part of the fashionable attire of this period.

CHAPTER VIII

FRONTIER LIFE

THE earliest settlements along the seaboard had hardly come into being before the more venturesome spirits were making their way into the unexplored wilderness that hemmed them in. Groups of fur-traders and lone hunters went first, working westward by the more accessible routes; up the navigable rivers, along the level valleys, and through the gaps of the wooded mountains. The topography of the country favored this western advance. The great Atlantic coastal plain, almost entirely covered with dense forest and intersected only by faint Indian trails, was penetrated most easily by way of the rivers, which, rising in the Appalachian watershed and cutting across the plain, afforded dozens of avenues up which the pioneers could push their way into the foothills. The mountains were their most serious obstacle. They rose ridge after ridge across their path, forcing them to seek out the infrequent gaps in the mountain walls. Beyond were pleasant valleys, running from north to south between the ridges. They were fertile and well watered, inviting those who had come in search of permanent homesteads; but the more adventurous pushed their way over the last chain and descended into the wide basin of the Mississippi.

The early hunters and trappers were tough-fibered men, crafty and tenacious, and self-reliant to an unusual degree. They learned the lore of the wilderness from the best of all possible teachers, the Indian. To this they added their own keen native intelligence and the mechanical resources of the white man, so that in time they surpassed even their instructors in woodcraft, outdoor cunning, and in the ability to cope with the dangerous problems of the border. They learned from the savage the use of the bark canoe, light enough to float in a few inches of water and to be carried easily around rapids and waterfalls. They borrowed from the native largely for their dress and for their means of shelter; adopted many of his foods and his ways of cooking them; copied his mode of warfare.

In addition to absorbing all the red man had learned through centuries of outdoor life, they possessed their white man's heritage of mechanical and constructive knowledge. They were masters of two efficient tools of prime importance in the business of subduing the wilderness: the ax and the rifle. With their steel axes they blazed trails, cut wood for their fires, fashioned shelters, built rude furniture, and performed a thousand and one necessary tasks. Perhaps, had it not been for the lurking Indian, the wilderness might have been conquered with this single tool.

Against the savage, and as a means of providing meat for their rude meals, the long rifle was indispensable. It was an unusually long weapon, heavy in the barrel, short and light in the stock (Figs. 81–82). Daniel Boone's own rifle was five feet three and a half

inches long, and eleven pounds in weight. At first thought, this seems unnecessarily long and heavy for a weapon used in the close confines of the forest lanes and carried so many hundreds of miles. Yet it was a weapon developed into this form by experience and necessity. It had taken this shape to insure greater accuracy. The barrel was heavy that it might vibrate less and have less tendency to "whip" the bullet from its mark. It was long to increase the distance between the front and rear sights and so lessen the margin of error in sighting. Finally, such a barrel gave more accurate results when light charges of powder were used, and as the hunter's activities carried him far from all sources of supply, it was imperative that he use no more powder in a charge than the occasion demanded. The stocks had deeply scooped butt-plates, and on the right side a trap holding patches and grease was hollowed out and covered with a hinged brass plate. The flintlocks were set with the finest French flints and equipped with delicately adjustable "set triggers." When compelled to by necessity, the hunter used the home-made colonial gunpowder; but for dependable shooting he preferred the fine black French powder.

These men often carried their families with them deep into the tree country. On some pleasant hillock near a convenient spring they would hack a space in the forest wall and throw up a log shelter. The logs of the little home were notched and grooved so deftly with the ax that, without nails or metal supports of any kind, their cabins stood the stress and storm of the severest weather. The chinks between the logs were

PLATE LXII

Courtesy of Boston Museum of Fine Arts

MRS. SKINNER

By John S. Copley. Painted 1772

plastered tightly with clay and moss, and the roofs were covered with bark and wooden slabs. Small windows, or loopholes, were often covered with greased paper and provided with shutters. The doors were sturdy enough to resist assault. The cabins, of necessity, had much the character of tiny fortresses, exposed as they were to constant attack.

Within, the furnishings were of the simplest; the furniture rude and solid, fashioned and shaped by the ax; the beds made comfortable with skins and fir boughs, and mattresses of pine needles and dried moss. By the stone fireplace would be a few pots and cooking utensils brought from the older settlements. The floors were earthen, although sometimes of halved logs, the flat sides turned up.

Around the cabins, as the trees were cleared away, fields of corn and patches of potatoes, beans, cabbages, and turnips were planted. In the autumn the scanty crops were harvested and stored in outhouses, or buried in leaves, dried grass, and earth, to be used during the winter. Nuts, berries, and wild fruits were added to the larder during the summer and autumn months. Meat, of course, formed the bulk of their diet; for the streams were well stocked with fish, and deer, bear, elk, buffalo, quail, and turkey ran wild in the forestways.

Then, too, the wild animals furnished them with clothing. They learned the Indians' way of curing and tanning; stretching the skins in the sun, and soaking and kneading them under water until they were as soft and pliable as fine woven woolen cloth. They followed the Indian fashion of cutting and sewing their

hunting smocks and leggings, and copied his way of making moccasins.

In his imitation of Indian ways the pioneer paid his sincerest tribute to savage ingenuity. The pioneer had no recourse but imitation; for attempting, as he did, to solve in a short span of years the infinite problems of the wilderness, it was only by drawing upon the accumulated knowledge centuries of savage life had brought to the Indian that he could meet the red man upon an equal footing, or hope to best him.

Behind the advance guard of hunters, traders, and trappers was a constantly pressing army of home-seekers. There was a relentless flow of land-hungry folk from the coast, usually new arrivals from Europe; poor but hardy and ambitious. At their coming, the early hunters, restless and resentful, gathered together their families and chattels and moved westward into remoter country. The new-comers were usually in search of permanent homes. They were tillers of the soil and builders, clearing all the available land; building larger and more comfortable houses, cutting roads and erecting bridges to link with the teeming life of the seaboard. They planted orchards, clearing their fields of stumps and fencing them in. They brought with them cattle and sheep and other domestic animals.

Spinning-wheels and looms came in, and buckskin slowly gave way to linen and homespun. Peddlers and merchants came over the new roads with pack-trains loaded with crockery and gewgaws of all sorts. Artisans and professional men drifted in; schools and churches

went up, and a regular machinery of government began to function.

It was all part of the extraordinary process that quickly transformed the harshness and discomfort of the frontier into the orderly world of snug villages and cultivated acres. In a great belt extending from Canada to Spanish Florida, there grew up a unique kind of life; a strange blend of rude, elemental existence, mixed with some of the graces and gifts of the cultured life behind it. It was a life that took on what it needed from the dangerous and unknown world it faced, and brought what it could from the more comfortable and complex order whence it had come. It was a meeting-place of the savage world and civilization, and from that contact sprang the most colorful and picturesque phase of our national history.

In this constantly changing zone of frontier existence, which crept steadily westward as successive waves of migration swept up from the tide-water country, there was developed a type of costume owing almost nothing to the fashion current in the civilized circles of the day. It is a supreme example of dress being shaped by the conditions from which it sprang, and it is the one type of costume truly and uniquely American.

I. COSTUME OF THE FRONTIER

THE MEN

HUNTING-SHIRTS.—The principal garment of the border fighter was the hunting-shirt or hunting-smock,

or wamus as it was sometimes called. It was not a coat in any sense, but a kind of loose tunic that was slipped over the head. Close fitting sleeves were attached to it,

FIGURE 81

and it was sometimes slit open for a little distance at the neck and laced together with buckskin thongs. It was cut to varying lengths, according to the caprice of the wearer, but usually it reached to just above the

LATE LXIII

By kind permission of Mr. Thomas B. Clarke and the Pennsylvania Museum of Art

MRS. RICHARD YATES

By Gilbert Stuart. Painted 1793

knees (Fig. 81). Almost all these wamuses were made with broad capes or collars attached to the garment (Figs. 81, 82). The sleeve seams and the bottom edges of the shirt and the cape were usually decorated with leather fringe, although sometimes the shirt and cape were edged with fur, as in the well-known portraits of Daniel Morgan and Sam Houston. Most of these garments were made of buckskin, carefully tanned, for not only was it a material the pioneers found at their hand, but it was light and warm, and resisted both water and wind. The finest hunting-smocks were made of elkskin, manipulated and kneaded until it was "soft and white as milk." These white elk shirts were apt to be more richly decorated than the ordinary ones, and must have been to the frontiersman what "Sunday best" was to the farmers of the more peaceful communities. It is hard to picture them engaging in the perilous activities of forest warfare clad in such conspicuous garments. Some hunting shirts were made of homespuns or linsey-woolsey, in which case they were usually dyed blue and sewn with yellow fringe. It was in this type of smock that most of Morgan's riflemen were clad. The wamus hung loosely from the shoulders without any effort to shape it to the body, and was confined at the waist by a broad leather belt.

Leggings.—The leggings were much like those of the Indian (Fig. 81). They were often gartered, or tied in below the knee to prevent dragging and hampering the wearer's movements. As in the case of the hunting-shirt, the outer seams were lined with fringe, and at the bottom the seam was opened a bit to permit

the easy passage of the foot. They were of leather, and were sometimes tanned with the hair inside for warmth.

Footwear.—The type of hunter who spent his days feeling his way through the blind forest wore nothing

Figure 82

but the Indian moccasin. It fitted his foot snugly but not tightly. In winter he stuffed it with buffalo hair or moss for warmth. Sometimes the moccasins were sewn to his long leggings, and often they were ornately patterned and stitched.

Head-gear.—In the close forestways a close-fitting head-covering was necessary. Caps of coonskin, fox, bear, or squirrel were worn. Sometimes they were provided with flaps that folded back in warm weather. A coon or foxtail was often sewn to the cap, hanging down behind (Fig. 81). In an open country, free from clutching branches and exposed to the sun, a flapping felt hat was worn, sometimes decorated with wampum, or the bushy tail of some small wild animal (Fig. 82).

Undergarments.—Undershirts of coarse linen or cotton were worn, but often the only article of underdress was a breech-clout, similar to that worn by the Indians.

Other Garments.—The border men always carried as little and dressed as lightly as possible; but in cold or stormy weather they would improvise garments from blankets, skins, or fur robes, using them as cloaks, or wrapping them about the body and holding them in place with a belt or with buckskin thongs.

Accessories.—The rifles were long and heavy in the barrel, with a short stock that "dropped" sharply (Fig. 81). It has been described more fully in the early part of the chapter. The leather belts were often worn with the buckles at the back to conceal the glitter, and to avoid catching in the underbrush. A long hunting-knife in its leathern scabbard hung from the belt on the left side, and at the right side the tomahawk was slung. The bullet pouch hung at the right side from a strap that passed over the left shoulder (Fig. 81). Just above it hung the powder-horn, made from a cow or buffalo horn, and scraped to almost paper thinness so that it

was translucent, and the black powder could be seen through its walls. Sometimes a small pack of food, blankets, and powder and shot was carried strapped to the back.

Hair.—The hair was worn long and carelessly. It was seldom given any attention, except to cut it when it became too long, or to tie it behind in a rude pigtail.

II. COSTUME OF THE FRONTIER

THE WOMEN

Women were less numerous than the men on the outer fringe of civilization, and their dress had neither the picturesqueness nor the individuality of masculine attire. As with the men, leather was the most important material, supplemented by crude homespuns and such rare articles as came up from the towns.

Bodice.—The bodice was of fustian or linsey-woolsey or leather, cut loosely to the body and sometimes laced in front. Under it was worn a coarse linen or cotton chemise (Fig. 83). Collars were seldom worn; only a small shawl or kerchief made of soft material might be thrown over the shoulders and about the neck (Fig. 83).

Skirts.—The skirts were cut full, but an excessive amount of material was not used. They fell in rather straight folds from under the bodice and hung about the ankles. Often they were shorter than those worn in the settled districts, because of the more active life of the wearers (Fig. 83).

HEAD-GEAR.—The women of the frontier seldom wore hats. In inclement weather a hood or shawl was thrown over the head.

FIGURE 83

FOOT-COVERING.—Stout, square-toed shoes or moccasins were worn, but often in warm weather the women went barefooted.

HAIR.—Little attempt was made at any of the formal or elaborate coiffures of the town ladies. The

hair was worn long or gathered into plaits, or coiled in a knot at the back of the head.

Accessories.—Coarse linen aprons were a not infrequent part of the women's costume, and woolen stockings were worn in cold weather. Such aids to feminine adornment as jewelry, fans, patches, or ribbons were practically unknown. At best, they might display a few strings of traders' beads or a carefully hoarded ribbon or two.

CHAPTER IX

SOURCES AND AUTHORITIES

THE most direct and conclusive evidence for the study of costume is, of course, the actual costumes themselves. Unfortunately, comparatively few examples have come down to us. Articles of dress do not usually suggest themselves as objects meriting preservation, and since the materials of which they are composed are fragile in nature, constant vigilance and care are necessary to defeat time's disintegration of them. Some have been saved because of historical or sentimental associations, or because their beauty and costliness made them seem worthy of care. Thus most of the costumes still in existence are in the nature of "fine clothes," such as wedding dresses, ceremonial or court costume, uniforms or formal dress clothes. There are few examples showing us the everyday attire of the average man or of the worker. It is a limitation that must be faced in every department of costume research. Another difficulty is the lack of survivals from the earliest days of the colonies. From the dawn of the eighteenth century on, examples are more numerous, and after the Revolution material is abundant.

Most of these costumes have found their way into the collections of public museums and societies; but there still remain many in the possession of private

owners, making it difficult or impossible for the student to see them. One of the finest collections is in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, District of Columbia. Other excellent ones are to be found in Memorial Hall, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia; Independence Hall, Philadelphia; the Metropolitan Museum, New York City; the Hartford Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut.

Small groups or isolated examples are distributed through many of the museums and societies of the country, such as the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts; the Gunn Memorial Library, Washington, Connecticut; the Bucks County Historical Society, Doylestown, Pennsylvania.

The most fruitful field for costume research is among contemporary portraits and other pictorial records. Yet this field, like others, is lacking in material for the seventeenth century. The Bellingham portrait (Plate VI) is believed by some to be the earliest known American portrait. Its date is 1641. Before that time there are only portraits the founders brought with them from Europe, or those which were painted by European artists during visits to the home country. Pictorial records are rich for the eighteenth century. Some of the difficulties attendant upon the use of this material are treated in Chapter V.

Among the most noteworthy collections of colonial portraits are those in Independence Hall, Philadelphia; the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; the Metropolitan Museum, New York City;

A

B

By kind permission of Mr. Thomas B. Clarke and the Pennsylvania Museum of Art

MRS. GEORGE POLLOCK
By Gilbert Stuart. Painted 1793

MATILDA CAROLINE CRUGER (1776–1812)
By Gilbert Stuart. Painted 1793

the New York Historical Society, New York City; the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts; the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts; Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, Massachusetts; the Rhode Island School of Design, Providence, Rhode Island; the Museum of the School of the Fine Arts, Yale University, New Haven; the Wadsworth Athenæum, Hartford, Connecticut; the State Library, Hartford, Connecticut; and the Corcoran Gallery, Washington, District of Columbia.

Other institutions containing excellent examples of early portraiture are the Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia; the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; the New York Public Library, New York City; the Dyckman House, New York City; the Van Cortlandt House, New York City; the Hartford Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut; the Redwood Library, Newport, Rhode Island; National Gallery, Washington, District of Columbia; and Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine.

There have been a number of highly important exhibitions of colonial portraits, gathered from various sources, to be shown only for a limited time. These included the superb collection of Thomas B. Clarke, shown at the Pennsylvania Museum of Art during 1928; the exhibition of portraits of persons who came to the colonies before 1701, at the Boston Anthenæum in March, 1917; and the early Virginia portraits gathered by Mr. Alexander Weddell and exhibited at Virginia House during May, 1929. Examples of early

American wood blocks and engravings are scattered through many museums and historical societies. A very good collection is in the New York Public Library, New York City.

REPRODUCTIONS OF PAINTINGS AND PRINTS

The finest collection of photographs of colonial paintings is in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York City. A good collection, arranged by painters, is to be found in the Art Room of the New York Public Library, New York City. Perhaps the finest private collection is that of Mr. F. W. Bayley of Boston.

Reproductions of early portraits are in many histories and in volumes dealing with American painting. The most complete set of plates illustrating the portraits of the seventeenth century is in "Portraits of the Founders," in three volumes, Boston, 1919.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

CONTEMPORARY DOCUMENTS AND WRITINGS

There is a vast store of contemporary documents and writings relating to early America, much of it unexploited. In all this mass of material the student of American costume can never be certain when he will unearth something important and pertinent to his study; but there are certain departments in which the rewards are few. The provincial records, state papers, legislative journals, and administrative correspondence may be searched for examples of the sumptuary laws, and for laws regulating or encouraging industries related to costume. Many of these colonial records have been collected and published and can be found in most of the important historical societies and libraries. Others can only be found in the public archives of the various states, counties, and municipalities.

Many of these state papers, together with correspondence and other material throwing light upon the life of the time, have been printed in the historical magazines of the various States, such as the "Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography"; the "Maryland Historical Magazine"; the collections and proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society; the publications of the Colonial Society of Massachu-

setts, and the "Virginia Magazine of History and Biography."

The various early newspapers and magazines offer a richer field for costume research than the state papers. The "Virginia Gazette," the "Boston News-Letter," "New England Journal," and the "Maryland Gazette" are a few that may be consulted with profit. There are almost complete files of some of these papers; others have been reprinted. C. S. Brigham's "Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690–1820," in late volumes of the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, gives the best information as to where files of the original papers may be found. An interesting compilation of advertisements taken from New England papers, and relating to arts, crafts, costume, and occupations, is "Arts and Crafts in New England, 1704–1775," by George Francis Dow, Topsfield, Massachusetts, 1927.

Contemporary letters, diaries, and travel accounts are one of the best and most accessible sources for the period. Many have been collected, edited, and published.

Some of the important ones are: "Memoir of a Life Chiefly Passed in Pennsylvania," Edinburgh, 1822, by Alexander Graydon; the "Journal of Madame Knight," Boston, 1920; "Early Letters from Pennsylvania, 1699–1722"; "Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography," 1877; "Travels in the American Colonies," New York, 1916; "Journal of William Black, 1744"; "Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography," 1913; "Journal of a Journey to Georgia, 1745"; "Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biog-

raphy," by William Logan, 1912; "Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers," New York, 1910; "Travels Through the Middle Settlements, 1759 and 1760," by Andrew Burnaby, London, 1775; and "Letters from an American Farmer, 1776–1781," by St. John de Crèvecœur.

AMERICAN COSTUME

The pioneer in the field of American costume is "Two Centuries of Costume in America," by Alice Morse Earle, two volumes, New York, 1903. It contains an amazing amount of information, the result of years of patient research. "Historic Dress in America, 1607–1870," by Elizabeth McClellan, two volumes, Philadelphia, 1904, is the other standard work in the field.

"The Quaker: A Study in Costume," by Amelia Mott Gummere, Philadelphia, 1901, is a careful study of Quaker dress that, in addition, treats in a general way of both American and European costume. "Costume of Colonial Times," one volume, New York, 1894, is by Alice Morse Earle. It is in the manner of a small dictionary, dealing concisely with garments, materials, and accessories of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, evidently a pioneer book that later developed into the two volumes mentioned above. "The Psychology of Dress," Frank Alvah Parsons, one volume, New York, 1920, while dealing generally with the costume of Europe, has a most instructive chapter on "The Eighteenth Century in England and America."

EUROPEAN COSTUME

"Costume in England: A History of Dress to the End of the Eighteenth Century," by the late F. W. Fairholt, the Dillon edition, London, 1910, is in the form of a dictionary of costume, and is invaluable to the student. It contains many interesting quotations from contemporary sources. "General History of Costume in Europe," by James Robinson Planché, two volumes, London, is of the highest importance to the student, and should be read in combination with Fairholt. Volume I is a general history of costume; Volume II a dictionary of dress. "Costume en France," by J. Quicherat, Paris, is one of the most authoritative of the French books on costume. "Le Costume en France," by A. Racinet, is a large and valuable contribution to the history of costume, but to the beginner is apt to be misleading as to dates. "Comment Discerner les Styles du VIII au XIX Siècle," by L. Roger-Miles, Paris, is valuable for the great variety of costumes shown in the illustrations. "Costume Civil en France," by C. Piton, Paris, is extremely rich in photographs of contemporary material, but text not of much value. "Die Mode," by Max von Böhn, eight volumes, München, 1923, is a splendid series of small handbooks, profusely illustrated with contemporary material of the different centuries. "Bilderbuch aus drei Jahrhunderten," by Georg Hirth, six volumes, Leipzig and München, is invaluable to the student of costume. "The History of Costume in France," from the French of M. Augustine Challamel, New York, 1882, is an extremely fascinat-

ing book on French costume. "Historic Costume," by Francis M. Kelly and Randolph Schwabe, New York, 1925, is one of the most comprehensive and valuable contributions to the history of costume in modern times. Every student of costume should have this valuable book always at his elbow. "English Costume," by Dion Clayton Calthrop, was published during 1906 in four volumes; in April 1907 in one volume, London. It gives splendid pictures of the life in England in relation to costume. Small pen-and-ink thumb-nail sketches appear throughout the book and are of great interest. They make the history of costume come to life.

GENERAL HISTORIES

The best picture of the sweeping pageant of American colonial development is given in the first volume of "The Rise of American Civilization," by Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, two volumes, New York, 1927. Excellent accounts of the political development of the country are found in Volume I of Henry William Elson's "History of the United States of America," five volumes, New York, 1908; in the first and second volumes of Edward Channing's "History of the United States," six volumes, New York, 1905; and in Volume I of "History of the American People," by Woodrow Wilson, Boston, 1889. Several volumes of "The American Nation," a history in twenty-eight volumes, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart, New York, 1904–1918, cover the period of the colonial scene; Lyon G. Tyler's "England in America, 1580–1652"; E. B. Greene's

"Provincial America, 1690–1775." The clearest and most comprehensive summing up of colonial expansion and development is to be found in several volumes of "A History of American Life," edited by A. M. Schlesinger and D. R. Fox, New York, 1928–? Volume II of "The First Americans 1607–1690," by Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, traces admirably the vicissitudes of the early settlers; Volume III, "Provincial Society 1690–1763," by James Truslow Adams, is a splendid presentation of the economic growth and social structure during the period covered.

LOCAL AND SECTIONAL HISTORIES

The most searching economic and social interpretations of early New England are found in James Truslow Adams's works—"The Founding of New England," Boston, 1921; and "Revolutionary New England," Boston, 1923; W. B. Weeden's "Economic and Social History of New England, 1620–1784," two volumes, Boston, 1890. John Fiske's "Beginnings of New England," Boston, and "New France and New England," Boston, 1902, are well known, as is Francis Parkman's "France and England in North America," nine volumes, Boston, 1892. There are numerous local histories, some of which contain material of worth.

The South is treated in "Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century," by P. A. Bruce, two volumes, New York, 1896; "The Planters of Colonial Virginia," by T. J. Wertenbaker, Princeton,

1922; and "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors," by John Fiske, two volumes, Boston, 1897.

For conditions in the middle colonies, there are "The Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America," by John Fiske, two volumes, Boston, 1903, and "Pennsylvania, Colony and Commonwealth," by Sidney G. Fiske.

ARCHITECTURE

One of the best works on colonial architecture is Fiske Kimball's "Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic," New York, 1922. H. D. Eberlein's "The Architecture of Colonial America," Boston, 1921, gives an excellent general survey of the field. Popular accounts of special sections of the country are given in "Old New England Houses," by A. G. Robinson, New York, 1920; "The Colonial Homes of Philadelphia and Its Neighborhood," by H. D. Eberlein and H. M. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1912; and "Historic Virginia Homes and Churches," by R. A. Lancaster, Jr., Philadelphia, 1915.

PAINTERS AND PAINTING

Volume I of "A History of American Art," by Sadakichi Hartmann, Boston, 1902, and "American Pictures and Their Painters," by Lorinda M. Bryant, London, 1917, contain some information on some of the earlier painters. A fuller account is given in "American Artistic Life," by Henry Nickerman, New York, 1867. William Dunlap's "A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States,"

Boston, 1918, is still indispensable. Other valuable publications are: "Little Known Early American Portrait Painters," Boston, and "The Life and Works of John Singleton Copley," both by F. W. Bayley, Boston, 1915; "Joseph Blackburn, a Colonial Portrait Painter," by Lawrence Park, Worcester, 1923, and "An Account of Joseph Badger," Lawrence Park, in Publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society for December, 1917.

CRAFTS AND MINOR ARTS

"The Practical Book of Early American Arts and Crafts," by H. D. Eberlein and Abbot McClure, Philadelphia, 1916, treats the whole field generally. Excellent books on individual arts are: John Spargo's "Early American Pottery and China," New York, 1926; Rhea Mansfield Knittle's "Early American Glass," New York, 1928; F. W. Hunter's "Stiegel Glass," Boston, 1914; Emily N. Vanderpoel's "American Lace and Lacemakers," New Haven, 1923; Arthur Hayward's "Colonial Lighting," Boston, 1923; and "Early American Craftsmen," by Walter A. Dyer, New York, 1915.

FURNITURE

"A History of English Furniture," by Percy Macquoid, four volumes, New York, 1904–5, and "English Furniture of the Eighteenth Century," by Herbert Cescinsky, three volumes, London, are the outstanding authoritative works on English furniture, and splen-

did to study in conjunction with American books on the same subject. For American furniture, "Colonial Furniture in America," by Luke Vincent Lockwood, two volumes, New York, 1921, is the standard work. "Furniture Treasury," two volumes, Farmington, Massachusetts, 1928, is a magnificent picture-book of the furniture in America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. "Furniture of Our Forefathers," by Esther Singleton, New York, 1913, is filled with interesting research in relation to old bills, invoices, and prices. "English and American Furniture," by Herbert Cescinsky and George Leland Hunter, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1929, is an admirable book on the comparison of the two styles. "Early American Furniture," by Charles O. Cornelius, New York, is rich in the historical background of furniture during the colonial period.

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

There are many books treating of the home life and quaint customs of colonial days. Most of them are packed with interesting information, but usually little attempt is made to trace the development of the various phases of colonial life through the succeeding decades.

Alice Morse Earle's "Home Life in Colonial Days," New York, 1926, is a mine of information on the background of early American life. All of her books, such as "Stage Coach and Tavern Days," New York, 1900; "Colonial Dames and Goodwives," New York, 1900;

"Customs and Fashions in Old New England," New York, 1894; "The Sabbath in Puritan New England," New York, 1891; and "Child Life in Colonial Days," New York, 1899, are the result of much research, and are crammed with information of value. Two books similar in character are Mary C. Crawford's "In the Days of the Pilgrim Fathers," Boston, 1920, and Marion N. Rawson's "Candle Days," New York, 1928. Sidney G. Fisher, in his "Men, Women and Manners in Colonial Times," two volumes, Philadelphia, 1898, treats each colony separately.

New York is covered by Esther Singleton's "Dutch New York," 1909, and her "Social New York Under the Georges 1714–1776," New York, 1902. "New York, Old and New," by R. R. Wilson, Philadelphia, 1902, is also of interest.

J. F. Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia," two volumes, Philadelphia, 1857, is valuable for Philadelphia and its vicinity; and S. G. Fisher's "The Makers of Pennsylvania" covers the entire State.

There is excellent material regarding early Virginia in Mary N. Stanard's "Colonial Virginia, Its People and Customs," Philadelphia, 1917.

Special phases of colonial life are treated in Carl Halliday's "Women's Life in Colonial Days," Boston. 1922; Geraldine Brooks's "Dames and Daughters of Colonial Days," New York, 1902; C. K. Bolton's "Scotch-Irish Pioneers," Boston, 1910, and A. B. Faust's "The German Element in the United States," two volumes, Boston, 1909.

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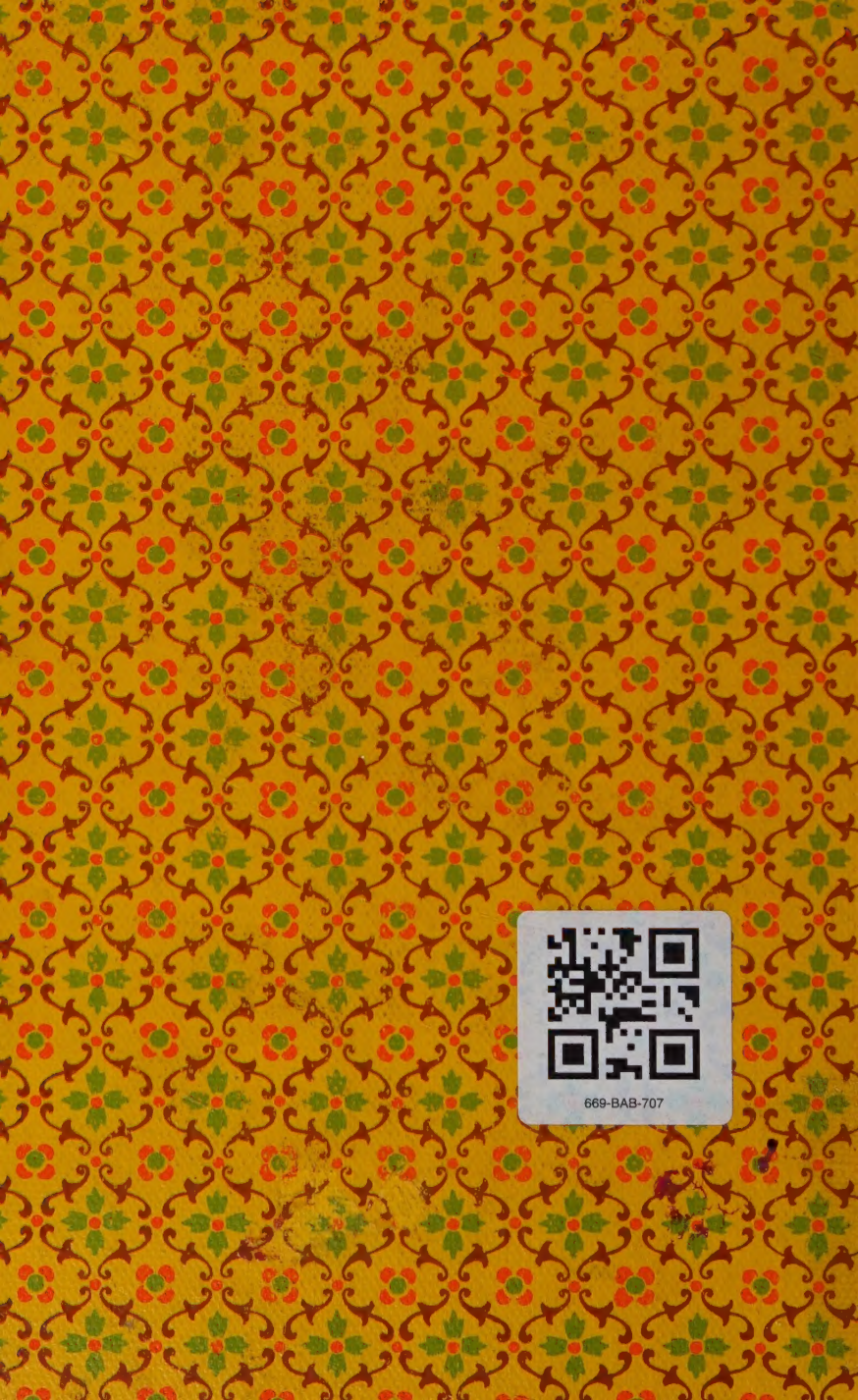
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